A DEFENSE Of the PROCEEDINGS AGAINST *JANE WENHAM*,

WHEREIN

The *Possibility* and *Reality* of *Witchcraft* are Demonstrated from Scripture, and the concurrent Testimonies of all Ages. In Answer to Two Pamphlets, Entituled,

I. *The Impossibility of Witchcraft*, &c.
II. *A Full Confutation of Witchcraft.*

By FRANCIS BRAGGE, A.B.
Late of *Peterhouse* in *Cambridge*. Author of the Account of the Proceedings against *Jane Wenham*, and *Witchcraft farther Display'd.*

—— Concerning the Power of Enchantments, implying the Co-operation of Invisible Powers, concerning all Sort of Entercourse and Confederacy (formal or virtual) with bad Spirits; all which things He that shall affirm to be meer Fiction and Delusion, must thereby with exceeding Immodesty and Rudeness charge the World with both extreme Vanity and Malignity; many (if not all) worthy Historians of much Inconsiderateness or Fraud, most Law-givers of great Sillines and Rashness, most Judicatories of high Stupidity or Cruelty, a vast Number of Witnesses of the greatest Malice or Madness; all which have concurred to assert these Matters of Fact. Dr. *Barrow*, Vol. 2. p. 133.

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That she (Jane Wenham) might not afterward (ie after the reprieve) be torn to Pieces by an ignorant Town, a Sensible Gentleman.. Colonel Plummer of Gilston in the same County took her into his protection, placed her in a little House near his own where she now lives (1720) soberly and inoffensively and keeps her Church; and the Whole Country is now fully convinced that she was innocent.

J. Hutchinsons Witchcraft
Lond 1720 p 165

Mr Hutchinson says "I have had the Curiosity to see the good Woman herself. She is so far from being unable to say the Lord's Prayer, that she would make me hear her say both Lord's Prayer & Creed, and other very good Prayers besides; and she spake them with an undissembled devotion, tho' with such little Errors of Expression, as those that cannot read are subject to.

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A.174047

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PREFACE.

THE general Alarm, which the Relation of the Witchcraft of Jane Wenham has given to the Scepticks and Free Thinkers of the Age, and the uncommon Industry used by some People to discredit it, both by raising abundance of Falsities, and endeavouring to turn into ridicule what they cannot confute, is a certain Sign that these Gentlemen find their loose Principles sensibly touch'd, and a clearer Evidence of the Being of Spirits, than they are willing to have.

For this Reason it is, that I have taken so much Notice of the two Pamphlets lately come out against it, lest the good Effects of so remarkable an Occurrence might any ways be obstructed, by the want of an Answer to those Papers, which as little as they deserve a Reply, if they had it not, would soon be cry'd up as unanswerable.

I have therefore carefully examined every thing that looks like an Argument in either of my Antagonists, and I hope what I have said in answer to their Objections will appear clear and rational to the Impartial and Judicious Reader. But as for those, who have before-hand resolved, That all Relations of this nature must be absurd and ridiculous, and when they are closely press'd with Reason and Testimony, always evade the Force of Conviction by setting up a loud Laugh; I do not expect this should have any great Effect upon them, any more than upon another sort of Unbelievers, who cannot give their Assent, unless we are able to satisfy them in all Questions they shall ask concerning the Ceremonies of Initiation, Conditions of the Contracts with the Devil, and the like, which they that pretend to resolve must be Wizards themselves.

It is a great Argument of the Reality of Witchcraft, that as much as it has been laugh'd at by the frothy Libertines, yet it has been generally maintain'd by the Grave, the Wise and the Learned in all Ages; Insomuch that there is not a Civilized Nation, that ever I heard of, without its Laws against this detestable Crime. And as the most Excellent Dr. Barrow expresses it, The wiser and more refined sort of Men, highest in Parts and Improvements, both from Study and Experience (indeed the Flower of every Commonwealth, Statesmen, Lawgivers, Judges and Priests) upon so many Occasions of great Importance, after most deliberate scanning such Pretences and Reports, should so often suffer themselves to be deluded, to the extreme injury of particular Persons concerned, to the common

mon abuſing of Mankind, to the hazard of their own Reputation in point of Wiſdom and Honeſty, ſeems, in no wiſe, reaſonable to conceive. In likelihood rather the whole Kind of all theſe things, were it altogether vain and groundleſs, would upon ſo frequent and ſo mature Diſcuſſions have appeared to be ſo, and would conſequently long ſince have been diſown'd, exploded and thruſt out of the World. For, as upon this occaſion 'tis ſaid in *Tully*, *Opinionum commenta dies delet, Naturæ judicia confirmat. De Nat. Deor.* Time wipeth out groundleſs Conceits, but confirms that which is founded in Nature and real. *Vol.* 2. *p.* 133.

The Opinion of ſo great a Man ſufficiently evinces, that the Subject of the following Sheets is at leaſt not ſo Ridiculous *as it is made to be.*

But becauſe both my Anſwerers pretend to underſtand Phyſic, and one of 'em ſays, That 'tis want of Knowledge in the Art of Phyſic that makes Men attribute meer natural Diſtempers to Spirits *. *And the Author of the* Full Confutation *(as he calls it) concludes his Book with a Piece of grave Advice to the Clergy to ſtudy Phyſic more:* If *(ſays he)* the Clergy would be a little more converſant with the Hiſtory of Diſeaſes, and enquire more narrowly into the Phyſical Cauſes of things, ſeveral Effects would not appear ſo perplexing, neither would they be ſo forward to aſcribe thoſe Diſeaſes to the *Devil*, where Nature is primarily concerned. *I think I cannot better conclude this Preface than in the Words of a very Learned Phyſician in the Caſe; 'tis the Famous Sir* Thomas Browne, *whoſe Teſtimony will certainly be allow'd of greater Weight than whatevr can be urg'd by our* Hertfordſhire *Pretender.*

It is a Riddle to me how the Story of Oracles hath not worm'd out of the World that doubtful Conceit of Spirits and Witches; how ſo many Learned Heads ſhould ſo far forget their Metaphyſicks, and deſtroy the Ladder and Scale of Creatures, as to queſtion the Exiſtence of Spirits. For my part, I have ever believ'd, and do now know, that there are Witches; they that doubt of theſe, do not only deny them, but Spirits, and are obliquely and upon conſequence, a ſort not of Infidels, but Atheiſts. Thoſe that to confute their Incredulity deſire to ſee Apparitions, ſhall doubtleſs never behold any, nor have the Power to be ſo much as Witches: The Devil hath them already in a Hereſy as capital as Witchcraft, and to appear to them were but to convert them. *Religio Medici, ſect.* 30.

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* Impoſſibility of Witchcraft, *p.* 24.

THE Possibility *and* Reality OF WITCHCRAFT, ASSERTED;

In Answer to a Pamphlet, intitled, *The Impossibility of Witchcraft.*

THE Author of this doughty Performance, after having very gravely acquainted his Reader, *That upon the repeated Sollicitations of many Letters from his Friends and Correspondents, these Papers appear in this manner, published in one Pamphlet for the general Good*; as if instead of having been out but a Fortnight or three Weeks, and that only to fill up a scandalous News-Paper *, they had stood the Test of some very considerable Time, and had been receiv'd with universal Applause, falls immediately upon two Objections, which he thinks it absolutely necessary to remove, before he proceeds any farther.

The first is, *That it is a very odd thing, that our Laws should impower Judges to put People to Death for Witchcraft, if there is no such thing as a Witch in the World.* Vid. Preface.

In Answer to which he tells us, *That it is said, That the 33d of* Henry VIII. *was the first Statute against Witchcraft*; and

* *Protestant Post-Boy.*

from a Clauſe in that Act, in which he finds theſe Words, *Or for the Deſpight of Chriſt, or Lucre of Money, to pull down any Croſs*, which is there made Felony, he concludes, That *this Statute was made upon account of the Religion which then prevailed*; and calls the Repeal of it, *Ed.* VI. *cap.* 12. and 1 *Mar. cap.* 1. *a Legal Toleration for Witches*; and thereby would inſinuate in the very Entrance of his Book, that the Belief of *Witchcraft*, and the Laws againſt it, were only the Effects of *Popery* and *Superſtition*.

It will not therefore be amiſs to ſatisfy the Reader in the firſt Place of the true Meaning of that Act, as alſo of its Repeal, and the Reaſon of more ſevere Laws being enacted againſt *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft* in the ſucceeding Reigns.

In *Nath. Bacon's Continuation of an Hiſtorical Diſcourſe of the Government of* England, *p.* 257. ſpeaking of new Felonies made in the time of *Henry* VIII. he ſays, *That among theſe, Conjuration or Witchcraft comes firſt; an old Felony in the* Saxons *time, but ſince had gotten its Clergy for the ſpace of five hundred Years, and they it.* So that it ſeems this Statute was made to clip the Power of the Clergy, and take this Crime from under their Cognizance, and bring it before the Civil Power. The Clergy had for ſome Hundreds of Years condemned *Witches* as *Hereticks* and *Apoſtates*, and now the *Laity* were reſolved to take the Power of trying Witches into their own Hands; ſo that this plainly ſhews this Law to be ſo far from the Effect of *Prieſtcraft* and *Superſtition*, that one Deſign of it was to *leſſen* the Power of the Church, by taking from it the Right of proceeding againſt ſuch Perſons by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, which then extended to Life, in ſome Caſes, as this in Particular, which was puniſhed by Death as obſtinate Hereſy. But leſt it ſhould give any Encouragement to Practices of this Nature, they were made Felony, without Benefit of the Clergy; and ſo were ſtill puniſhable as before with Death, only Sentence was pronounced in another Court of Judicature. Before this Power came to the Clergy, it had been *Felony*, which ſhews the Senſe the *Saxons* had of it, and this Act makes it ſo again. Theſe Words, *Or for Deſpight of Chriſt*, &c. are by no Means fairly repreſented by our Author, as the Reader may eaſily ſee by the Context, which runs thus, *Be it enacted*, &c. *That if any Perſon or Perſons, after the firſt Day of* May *next coming, uſe, deviſe, practiſe, or exerciſe, or cauſe to be uſed, deviſed, practiſed or exerciſed, any Invocations or Conjurations of Spirits, Witchcrafts, Enchantments or Sorceries, to the Intent to get or find Money or Treaſure, or to waſte, conſume, or deſtroy any Perſon in his Body, Members, or Goods,*

or

or to provoke any Person to unlawful Love, or by Occasion or Colour of such things, or any of them, or for Despight of Christ, or Lucre of Money, dig up or pull down any Cross, or by such Invocations, &c. Our Author in his Quotation out of this Statute seems purposely to have omitted the Words *dig up*, which are not for his purpose indeed, but help to give a Light into the true Meaning of the Clause he has inserted in his *Preface*, which indeed is this: The Witches of those times used to dig up Crosses, or pull 'em down, to make use of them in their Enchantments; which is therefore forbidden in this Statute, for the same Reason that *taking up dead Mens Bones for Magical Uses*, is made Felony by 1 *Jac.* c. 12. as may appear more plainly by the Preamble to this Statute, of which I am now treating; but for the sake of Brevity, I refer the Reader to the Act it self. 'Tis probable that they made use of these Crosses in some Ceremonies of Witchcraft, in which they might possibly burn or trample them under Foot, or some other ways do despight to the *Cross of Christ*.

This Act was afterwards repealed in an Act pass'd 1 *Edw.* VI. in which all Acts of *Henry* VIII. making new Felonies or Treasons, were annulled: 'Tis probable this was done at the Beginning of a new Reign, to quiet the People, who had Reason to be disgusted at the Severity of some new Laws made, relating to Capital Crimes. This Repeal was also confirm'd 1 *Mar.* in the Preamble to which the abovesaid Reason is to be found. And it is owing only to the Confusion and Hurry of those times, that no new Law was made against Witches before Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign; when there was great Occasion indeed for such a one, the Queen her self being aimed at by the Wickedness of Sorcerers.

In Order to shew the true Reason of making a new Law against Witchcraft in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, I shall beg Leave to transcribe a Passage or two out of Mr. *Strype's Introduction to the History of the Reformation under Queen* Elizabeth. *Page* 6. he says, that 'There were some already of the 'Popish Faction contriving Mischief against the Queen,— by 'dealing with some Conjurers, to cast their Figures to calculate the Queen's Life, and the Duration of her Government, and the like. And after having related the Proceedings against several of these Conjurers, he goes on thus, *p.* 7.

'Tis strange to consider how these Sorceries prevail'd about this Time, and so on for some of the first Years of the 'Queen's Reign, and the Mischiefs they did, and the Fears 'many good and sober Men had of their bewitching the 'Queen her self. This is evident from a Passage in a Ser-

'mon of Biſhop *Jewel*'s before the Queen; wherein he thus
'-addreſſeth himſelf to her: *By the way to touch but a Word*
'*or two of this Matter, for that the horrible uſing of Your poor*
'*Subjects enforceth thereunto. It may pleaſe Your Grace to un-*
'*derſtand, that this kind of People, I mean Witches and Sorce-*
'*rers, within this few laſt Years, are marvelouſly increaſed*
'*within Your Grace's Realm. Theſe Eyes have ſeen moſt evi-*
'*dent and manifeſt Marks of their Wickedneſs. Your Grace's*
'*Subjects pine away even unto the Death, their Colour fadeth,*
'*their Fleſh rotteth, their Speech is benumbed, their Senſes are*
'*bereft. Wherefore Your poor Subjects moſt humble Petition unto*
'*your Highneſs is, that the Laws touching ſuch Malefactors may*
'*be put in due Execution. For the Shoal of them is great,*
'*their Doings horrible, their Malice intolerable, the Examples*
'*moſt miſerable; and I pray God they may never practiſe fur-*
'*ther than upon the Subject.* This I make no doubt was the
'Occaſion of bringing in a Bill next Parliament, for making
'Enchantments and Witchcraft, Felony. Thus far Mr. *Strype.*

Having met with ſo clear an Account of the Occaſion of the Act that paſs'd 5 *Eliz.* againſt Witchcraft, I could not but inſert it; eſpecially ſince from the Quotation out of Biſhop *Jewel*'s Sermon (beſides the great Weight of his Teſtimony to the Being and Power of Witches) there are two things of great uſe to be collected. 1*ſt.* The Vanity of thoſe who pretend, that the Notion of Witchcraft owes its Improvement to *Popiſh Impoſtures*, He being the great Champion of the *Reformed*; and, 2*dly.* We from thence plainly ſee, what *ſort* of *Witches* thoſe were, againſt whom the Law was made; not *Fortune-tellers* only, but ſuch as afflicted and *tormented* the Bodies of their Fellow-Subjects, ſometimes even unto Death. So that now I think nothing can be clearer than the Account of the Occaſion of this Law; which I have the rather thought it worth my while to enquire after, becauſe our notable Author recommends ſuch an Enquiry; thereby *tacitly* implying what *even he* was aſham'd poſitively to affirm, that it would make for his purpoſe.

In King *James*'s Reign, this Act was repealed by another to the ſame Effect, which is ſtill in Force. There was alſo the ſame Reaſon for ſuch a Law in his Time, who had himſelf been acquainted with ſeveral Inſtances of this Nature: One I ſhall inſert, which happened in *Scotland* ſeveral Years before his coming to the Engliſh Crown. It is taken out of Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*'s *Hiſtory of the Church of* Scotland, *p.* 383.

Ann.

' *Ann.* 1591. ' Moſt of this Winter was ſpent in the Diſcovery and Examination of Witches and Sorcerers. Amongſt theſe, *Agnes Simpſon* (commonly called *the wiſe Wife of Keith*) was moſt remarkable; a Woman not of the baſe and ignorant ſort of Witches, but Matron-like, grave, and ſettled in her Anſwers, which were all to ſome purpoſe. In her Examination ſhe declared, That ſhe had a familiar Spirit, who upon her Call did appear in a viſible Form, and reſolve her of any doubtful Matter, eſpecially concerning the Life or Death of Perſons lying ſick. And being ask'd, What Words ſhe us'd when ſhe called the Spirit? She ſaid her Words were *Holla Maſter*, and that he had learned her ſo to do. She further confeſs'd, That Earl *Bothwell* had moved her to enquire what ſhould become of the King, how long he ſhould reign, and what ſhould happen after his Death; and that the Spirit having undertaken to make away the King, after he had failed in performing, and was challenged by her, confeſs'd it was not in his Power, ſpeaking Words ſhe underſtood not; but as ſhe did take them, the Words were, *Il eſt homme de dieu.* *Richard Graham*, another notorious Sorcerer, being apprehended at the ſame time, made the like Confeſſion of *Bothwell*, which was the Cauſe of his Commitment in *April* following.

It ſeems Witchcraft was already puniſhable with Death in *Scotland*, as appears by the Proclamation againſt *Bothwell*, after his Eſcape out of Priſon, in which he is charged with his *having conſulted with Witches and Necromancers for bereaving his Majeſty of his Life, as was manifeſt by the Confeſſion of ſome that had already ſuffered, and others yet alive who were ſhortly to be execute.*, ibid. p. 384.

So that King *James* had Reaſon enough to paſs a ſevere Law againſt Necromancers, as he did in the firſt Year of his Reign in *England*.

Before I leave this *Scotch* Story, I cannot but take Notice what a convincing Proof here is, that evil Spirits are able to do nothing without the *Divine Permiſſion*, which our Author ſo profanely laughs at. Here you ſee *Agnes Simpſon*'s Familiar confeſſing, that although he had promis'd to make away the King, yet he had not Power to perform it, he being *Il homme de dieu*, a Man of God, one more immediately under the Divine Protection; but more of this in its proper Place.

Our Author ſays, though without any manner of Reaſon, That *Witches* were adjudg'd *Hereticks*, and ſuffer'd as ſuch, *to eſtabliſh the Dominion of the Pope, and the Profit of the Inquiſitors, who had a Share in the Goods and Eſtates of Perſons ſo con-*

condemned. How far the *Inquiſitors* might, for the *Lucre* of Money, abuſe their Power, is beſides the preſent Purpoſe to examine. I am ready enough to believe, they were none of the faireſt and moſt impartial Judges; but this I ſay, that *Witches* were juſtly deem'd as *Hereticks* and *Apoſtates*, not upon Account of the Gain that might thereby accrue to the *Inquiſitors*, but for a very good Reaſon, which our Author himſelf tells us, *viz. Becauſe Witches had renounced their Baptiſmal Vow, and ador'd Satan.* A ſolid and ſubſtantial Reaſon, I ſay, is here given, drawn from the very Nature of the Crime adjudg'd to be *Hereſy*. How then could our Author, with any Appearance of Candor or Ingenuity, affirm in the very next Line, *And this they did*, viz. ſuppos'd Witches as Hereticks, *to eſtabliſh the uſurp'd Dominion of the Pope*, &c.

If entring into a ſolemn League and Covenant with the Devil, if renouncing our Baptiſmal Vow, (which is atteſted by innumerable Confeſſions of Witches to be part of that Covenant) if this be not the worſt ſort of *Apoſtacy*, I know not what can be called ſo; and if it be, then certainly it may be condemn'd as ſuch, without the Imputation of *Popery* or *Superſtition*. And in this the *Romiſh Inquiſitors* have done no more, than what muſt be juſtified by the common Conſent of all good *Chriſtians*, that believe there is any ſuch thing as entring into theſe *Diabolical* Confederacies.

The 2d Objection to the Impoſſibility of *Witchcraft*, taken Notice of in this *Preface*, is this: Others affirm, *That the Records of Juſtice are full of Inſtances in all Ages of the Truth of Witchcraft, which in their Opinion amounts to a Demonſtration:* And how does he, *to quiet the Minds of theſe, ſhew them how far off their Surmiſes are from any thing that bears the Face of Reality*, which he very boldly promiſes to do? Why, he ſays, *Nothing of this amounts to a Demonſtration, becauſe, as Mr.* Glanvil *ſays, we are ignorant of the Extents and Bounds of Nature's Sphere and Poſſibilities, and Judges may have ſuffer'd themſelves to be impoſed upon by falſe Witneſſes, may have condemn'd innocent Perſons, for Facts impoſſible to be done, or upon the Teſtimony of pretended Witch-finders; and laſtly, Judges themſelves are not infallible; and can all this amount to a Demonſtration?* This is the Sum of his Argument, which yet I muſt tell him proves nothing at all, unleſs he can make it appear, that *all* Judges, who have condemned Witches, have been ſo impoſed upon; *all* Witneſſes againſt 'em, forſworn; *all* the ſtrange Actions imputed to 'em, impoſſible to be perform'd *with the Aſſiſtance of an evil Spirit*; and *all* the Judges in theſe Caſes to have been as ignorant, as thoſe who *excommunicated*

municated the *Biſhop* of *Mentz* for believing there were *Antipodes?* And yet this, as neceſſary as it is, to make his Argument avail any thing in the Judgment of Men of Senſe and Reaſon, he does not ſo much as preſume to affirm. If any *one* of the many thouſand Stories of Witchcraft, if any *one* of the Confeſſions of the Parties accuſed be true, then *that is a Demonſtration*, and all the reſt may be ſo, notwithſtanding any thing here ſaid againſt it. Altho' for my Part I am very ready to allow, that there have been many Impoſtures of this Kind, but this can never prove, that there is no ſuch thing as Truth in other well atteſted Relations, ſince it is rational to believe, That all Errors take their Original from ſome Truths, which they endeavour to mimick.

Since our Author had promis'd in his Title-page, *to confute and expoſe the Depoſitions againſt* Jane Wenham, it was but reaſonable to expect ſome Performance of this Promiſe to the World; but inſtead of that, he ſhuffles us off with the following Excuſe. *I ſhould here* (ſays he) *according to the Deſire of ſome Perſons, enter into the Merits of the ſeveral Depoſitions that are inſerted at large in the full and impartial Account, which are Sixteen in Number; but out of Reſpect to the Sacred Habits which Two of THEM wear, and the Incapacities of the other Fourteen, diſmiſs 'em to their reſpective Apartments, with no further Remarks, than that the Inconſiſtencies which they are guilty of, ſhew they ſtand very much in Need of Reſt*, &c. Theſe are his very Words, which how to make Senſe of, I muſt own my ſelf at a Loſs. What does he mean by Two of the *Depoſitions* wearing *Sacred Habits*, and the Incapacities of the other Fourteen? Or how can he evade the Charge of writing downright *Non-ſenſe*, where Nothing but ſtrong *Confutation* was expected? However, I will take no farther Advantage of this horrid Blunder, and will ſuppoſe he meant the *Witneſſes*, Two of which he vouchſafes to ſpare, upon Account of their Cloth, and the others he ſlights for their Incapacities. But being my ſelf One of the Fourteen whoſe *Incapacities* he ſo much contemns, and whoſe *Inconſiſtencies*, he is pleas'd to ſay, *ſhew they very much ſtand in Need of Reſt*, I think my ſelf oblig'd to challenge him before all the World, to be as good as his Word, to *confute* and *expoſe* theſe *Depoſitions*, as he has engag'd to do, and ſhew the *Inconſiſtencies* of them, or elſe publickly to beg Pardon for the *Banter* he has put upon the World, by pretending in his very *Title-page* to do what he has not ſo much as *attempted* to *perform* in his *Book*; and what ſince he has *not done*, he muſt not take it ill, if I tell him plainly he *cannot do*. And ſo much for this idle Preface. Let us ſee whether he will acquit himſelf any better in his Book.

'Tis

'Tis now grown very fashionable among those who either advance new Opinions, against the general Sense of the Pious and Learned Part of the World, or endeavour to destroy the old ones embrac'd by them, to begin with finding Fault with the Translation of the Bible now in Use; and they think, that by crying out against this Translation, they may easily get over any Scripture that lies in their Way, to which they are not a little encourag'd, both by the Easiness of thus evading Objections they could not otherwise answer, and a certain Vanity of Temper, by which they please themselves with fancying that by this Means they shall seem more Learned than their Fathers that went before them. And thus it seems it is with our Author, instead of stating the Case fairly to his Reader, or endeavouring to prove the *Impossibility of Witchcraft*; After shewing his *Manners* by scoffing at Sir *Henry Chauncy* for committing *Jane Wenham* to Goal for Witchcraft, producing a Scrap of *Latin* out of *Cicero* to shew his Learning, *p.* 1. and wondering with himself at the *Superstition* and *Credulity* of the World concerning the Actions of *Witches*, he denies, that there are any *Examples of their prodigious Power other than in Heathen Fables*, or that it has any *Foundation in Holy Scripture*, and comes *slap dash* upon our Translators in these Words, *p.* 2. *'Tis true, our Translators of the Bible, in the* 18th Chapter *of* Deuteronomy, *call a CONJECTURER an ENCHANTER, which why they should, I cannot at all imagine, there being not the least Hint of such a Signification in the* Hebrew *Word MANKESH, which is far better render'd in the Old Translation, A REGARDER OF THE FLYING OF FOWLS, for that is the Truth* (Now for a wonderful Discovery!) *tho' it be not ALL the Truth, The Flight of Fowls being but one Way of many which the Conjecturers made use of.*

In answer to which, first craving Leave (with Submission to this Author's profound Skill in *Hebrew*) to read the Word מנחש, [*Menacesh*] upon the Authority of the Learned Dr. *Henry More*, from the same great Man, in his Postscript to a Letter prefix'd to the 2*d Edition of Mr. Glanvil's Sadducismus Triumphatus*, p. 24. I say first, That it will be readily allow'd me, that a *Charmer* and an *Enchanter* is all one; so that if it signifies a *Charmer*, the Business is done. Now Dr. *More* says, That this Word *Menacesh* may very well signifie *Charmers*, but such *properly*, as kill *Serpents* by their Charming, from [*Nachash*] which signifies a *Serpent*, from whence comes [*Nichesh*] *to kill Serpents*, or make away with them. Dr. *More* gives this Reason for his Opinion, That a Verb in *Pihel*, sometimes (especially when it is form'd from a Noun) has a *contrary* Signification;

nification; of which he produces several Instances, for which I refer the Learned Reader (and my *Author* if he can read 'em) to the Book it self; and concludes his Argument in these Words. " And therefore there seems to have been a great " Deal of Skill and Depth of Judgment, in our *English* Tran- " slators that render [*Menaceſh*] an *Enchanter*, especially when " that of *Augur* or *South-ſayer*, which the *Septuagint* call " Οἰωνιζόμενον, might seem *leſs ſuitable* with this black Lift, " there being so many harmleſs Kinds of it; for there is no " such Abomination in adventuring to tell, when the wild " Geese fly high in great Companies, and cackle much, that " hard Weather is at hand. But to rid *Serpents by a Charm*, " is above the *Power of Nature*; and therefore an Indication " of one that has the Assistance of *some inviſible Spirits to aſſiſt* " him in this Exploit, as it happens in several others; and " therefore this is another Name of one that is *really a Witch*. *Vide* More's *Poſtſcript*, p. 24.

I have here produced both Reason and great Authority for the present Translation of this Text, which I have done meerly out of Respect to the rest of my Readers, it being more than my *notable Antagoniſt* deserves, who gives only his bare *Say-ſo*, for what he alledges, and therefore might well enough be answer'd the same Way; but tho' I have no great Reverence for him, I think it mine and every Writer's Duty to have a great Regard and Respect for the impartial Reader; and therefore I shall proceed to examine his next *poſitive Affirmation* against our Translators, it is this, *p.* 3.

" *A ſecond Miſtake of our Tranſlators in the ſame Chapters, is* " *their calling a Miracle-monger a WITCH: The* Hebrew *Word* " *is MICKSHAPH, which the* Septuagint *renders by the* " Greek *Word* Φάρμακος, *meaning an IMPOSTOR, not a Poi-* " *ſoner. For it is ridiculous to think, That* Pharaoh's *Magici-* " *ans,* Jezebel *the Queen, and King* Manasses, *did exerciſe the* " *Art of Poiſoning. Thus in the* 18*th Chapter of the* Revelations, " *and the* 23*d Verſe, the Word* Φαρμακεία *is neither taken for* " *WITCHCRAFT or Poiſons, but for Impoſtures, tho' our Tran-* " *ſlations have rendred it WITCHCRAFT.*

After again taking Leave to read this *Hebrew* Word differently from my Author, but agreeably to Dr. *More*, and all others I ever met with but himself, [*Mecaſſeph*] I observe, that he is angry at our Translators, for rendering the *Greek* Word Φάρμακος *a Witch*, which he in one Line calls a *Miracle-monger*, and after 2 or 3 more he would have it not *a Poiſoner*, as the *Latin* Word *Veneficus* implies, but an *Impoſtor*. Now if this *profound Critick* has not two different Meanings, and be any

ways consistent with himself, he allows this *Impostor* to be also a *Miracle-monger*, that is, one who carries on his Imposture, by doing Wonders, a Miracle-working, or to keep to his own *polite* Expression, a *Miracle-monging Impostor*: Now the Working of *Miracles* in the lowest Acceptation of the Words, implies doing something *beyond the usual Course of Nature*, which cannot be done without the Assistance of some *invisible Being*, Good or Evil; *Good* it cannot be, because such *Wonders* are expresly forbidden to be done by Holy Scriptures; so that it must be an *evil* Spirit, by whose Power these strange Things are done; and consequently he or she, who makes use of this Spirit in working Wonders, comes within the Definition of a Witch, which I have laid down, *p.* 29. (*Of Witchcraft farther Display'd*) Viz. *One who by open or secret League consenteth to use the Aid and Assistance of an evil Spirit in working Wonders, beyond the ordinary Power of Nature.* So that our Author is trapp'd in his own Words, and brought to a Confession before he is aware of it.

But as *Jane Wenham*, when she found some Days after her Confession, that it was like to be made use of against her, fell to Equivocations and Evasions, endeavouring to retract what she had said, if possible; so does our Witch-Advocate, and says, *p.* 4. *Nor let any one think, that for the Performance of these COUNTERFEIT Miracles, they stood in Need of the Devil's Assistance; for what they performed, either exceeded not the Compass of Human Art, altho' miraculous in the Eye of the Vulgar; or if it did, then it was not really perform'd, but a meer jugling Impostor. Such Kind of Juglers were those who stood before* Pharaoh *in Opposition to* Moses *and* Aaron. But alas! this Evasion will not serve his Turn; for let us suppose with him for once, for Argument's Sake, that these *Juglers*, as he calls 'em, who stood before *Pharaoh*, did not *really perform* the Wonders recorded of them; yet thus much he must own, that by their jugling Impostures they impos'd upon the Eyes of all the *Egyptian* Spectators, and also of *Moses* and *Aaron*, insomuch that they made all these Wonders *appear* to the *Senses* to be *really perform'd*. And is it possible so to delude the Senses of innumerable Spectators by any Human Art? Is it possible, I say, upon throwing down a *Rod* upon the Ground, to make it *appear visibly* to be *a Serpent*, without the Assistance of a *Diabolical Power?* Can any *Legerdemain* or *Slight of Hand*, make the *Waters seem to be Blood*, and Legions of Frogs *seem* to *come out of the Rivers upon the dry Land?* And if not, this very *Deceptio Visûs*, this *holding of Peoples Eyes, and seeming to do what is not done*, is a Wonder perform'd by *Witchcraft*; this Delusion,

sion, I say, is wrought by *Fascination* and *Assistance of the Devil*, agreeably to the Interpretation *Aben Ezra* gives of the [*Mecassephim*] *Qui mutant, & transformant res naturales ad aspectum oculi.* And that this is really meant not of your common Juglers, who seem to eat Fire before a Company of People at a *Fair*, but of such who raise Magical Spectres to deceive Men's Sight, is very evident, from *Exod.* 22. 18. *Thou shalt not suffer* [*Mecassephah*] which we render *a Witch, to live*; which would be a barbarous and cruel Law against a poor *German-Artist* for his Legerdemain. So that now, I hope, I have made it plain; that altho' we should suppose, (what I will by no Means grant) that the Magicians of *Egypt* did only impose upon the Sight of *Pharaoh*, *Moses*, and *Aaron*, yet it makes not in the least for our Author's Purpose; his *Miracle-mongers* are still *Witches.*

But, why may not the *Greek* Word Φάρμακ& be here render'd any otherwise than an Imposture? And why must Φαρμακεῖαι also signifie nothing but Impostures? Why, we have our Author's Word for it, and he's a Man that stands upon his Credit, and must and will be believ'd *upon Honour.* But alas! if he has no better Vouchers in other Matters, his Word will go but a little Way. What! None of the antient Authors to speak one Word in his Behalf? *Ne'er* a Scrap of *Greek* or *Latin*, to shew that *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Dioscorides*, *Aristophanes*, *Theocritus*, *Galen*, *&c.* were a Parcel of ignorant Block-heads, and understood not their own Language, when they most commonly used Φάρμακ& & Φαρμακεὺς, (altho' sometimes for a Poisoner) for a Sorcerer, and Φαρμακεία for Witchcraft, as has been copiously proved beyond Evasion, by more than one that have written of Sorcery? Not one Witness to their Learning and Skill in Interpretation? Produce your Evidence for Shame, Sir, if you can, or you'll go near to be cast by an *English* Jury. Why, Gentlemen, the Truth of the Business is, he has a little over-shot himself, as Men of Mettle and bright Parts will do now and then; *Humanum est errare*, and so no more of this at present; and since it is plain enough from what has been said, that his Interpretation, tho' allow'd, will do him no Good, e'en let him peaceably enjoy it, whether he can prove it or no. And proceed we now to the 3d Error, which he charges upon our Translators, *p.* 5.

The third Error of our Translators is (says he) *their mistaking a Consulter with Oracles, or False Prophets, for a Consulter with familiar Spirits:* In order to prove which, he tells us, *That the Word* [*Obh*] *signifies in Scripture, sometimes the Gift of Oracling, and sometimes the Person that has such a Gift. It signifies*

also a Bottle, &c. *Vide locum*, p. 5. The Sum of what he would be at is, That the Sort of Diviners meant by the *Hebrew* Words, [*Shoel-Obh*] were some that made use of a Bottle, or hollow Trunk, to deliver their Oracles through, that their Voices might seem to be more than Human, and very much their Tone must needs be alter'd thereby, especially *if they were in a Cave, or Room under Ground, when they made Answer to Enquiries.* Well, and what then? Why these were a Pack of cheating Impostures. How does he know that? Know it, why he proves it by Scripture; He says, *These Kind of cheating Tricks are plainly alluded unto by the Prophet* Isaiah, *in these Words, Thy Voice shall be as an Oracler out of the Earth, and thy Speech shall piep out of the Dust*, p. 6. He supposes, *the Prophet here chiefly hints at the Necromantick Oracler, or one that pretended to consult the Dead: Who by himself, or his Confederate, did counterfeit a Voice like the pieping of a Chicken, that it might the more plausibly seem to be the small Voice of a poor departed Ghost*, ibid. Hey-day! *Piep* like a *Chicken*, through a *hollow Trunk*, to imitate the *still Voice* of a *Ghost!* This whole Paragraph is so obscure, that I don't know where to find any thing that bares the Face of an Argument, which makes me, who am not very inclinable to trust him, apply my self to the Text it self, for his Meaning, and that of the Words.

There are two Places in the Prophet *Isaiah*, which, I suppose, my Author has here in his Eye. The First is, *chap.* 8. *v.* 19. *And when they shall say unto you, seek unto them that have familiar Spirits, and unto Wizards that piep, and mutter*, &c. Which the *Septuagint* renders thus, Ζητήσατε τὰς ἐγγαστρίμυθας, καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντας, τὰς κενολοχεύλας, οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνήσουσιν. The Other is, that which, I suppose, my Author quotes out of the old Translation, as being more to his Purpose, but stands thus in the New, *chap.* 29. *v.* 4. *Thou shalt speak out of the Ground, and thy Speech shall be low out of the Dust, and thy Voice shall be as of one that hath a familiar Spirit out of the Ground, and thy Speech shall whisper out of the Dust.* Thus render'd in the *Septuagint*, καὶ ταπεινωθήσονται εἰς τὴν γὴν οἱ λόγοι σου, καὶ εἰς τὴν γὴν οἱ λόγοι σου δύσονται, καὶ ἔσαι ὡς ὁ φωνοῦλες ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡ φωνή σου, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔδαφος ἡ φωνή σου ἀσθενήσει. Which two Places greatly illustrate each other, and confirm the present Translation. *The Word* [*Obh*] says Dr. *More* in his Postscript above quoted, *p.* 28. *signifies as much as* PYTHO; *as* PYTHO *also, though it took its Name at first from* PYTHII VATES, *signifies no more than* Spiritum Divinationis *in general, a Spirit that tells hidden Things, or Things to come. And* [*Obh*] *and Pytho also agree in this, that they both signifie either the Divinato-*

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ry Spirit it ſelf, or the Party that hath that Spirit. But here in [Shoel Obh] it being render'd by the Septuagint, Ἐγγαστρίμυθος, [Obh] is neceſſarily underſtood of the Spirit it ſelf, as Pytho is, Acts 16. 16. if you read πνεῦμα πύθωνα with Iſaac Cauſabon, but if πύθωνος, it may be underſtood either way. So far Dr. *More*, now the better to let my Reader underſtand how theſe ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, or *Belly Prophets*, received and deliver'd their Oracles; and the Meaning of having a *familiar Spirit out of the Ground*, I will put him in Mind of a remarkable Circumſtance, concerning the Occaſion of the general Retort of the *Heathen* * World to the *Oracle* of *Delphos*, which will help very much to clear this Matter. Before the *Oracle* was fix'd at *Delphos*, the Place was a *Common*, on which Goats uſed to graze, in which was a Den with a little Mouth at Top; and it was obſerv'd, that when any of the Goats look'd into this Hole, they fell a skipping and making an odd Noiſe, (which afterwards occaſion'd *Goats* to be reckon'd *Brutes of Divination*, to which *Tertullian* alludes, *cap.* 23. of his Apologetick, when he ſays, *per quos* (ſpeaking of Dœmons) *& Capræ divinare conſueverunt*) *Coretas* the Goat-head having taken Notice of this odd *Phænomenon*, went himſelf to the Place, and looking in, fell immediately a *Propheſying*, as did many others who went to viſit it; and ſome (ſays *Tully*) were ſtrangled, *Terræ Anhelitu*, with the ſtrong Streams that came out of the Earth, *Vide Diodor. Lib.* 16. Upon this it was ſoon ſpread abroad, that there was a *Spirit* of *Divination* in the Place; upon which therefore they placed a *Tripos*, or *Three-footed Stool*, with a conſecrated Prieſteſs upon it, who receiv'd her Inſpiration from *below*, ἐκαθημένη τῷ τρίποδι, and hence theſe Sort of Oracles were called ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, as having a *Spirit* which *aſcended out of the Ground*, into their Bellies; and it is probable, that the Reaſon of the Name [*Obh*] which does indeed, as my Author ſays, ſometimes ſignifie a *Bottle*, might be taken from that Spirit which was in the Body of the Party, and ſwell'd it to a Protuberancy, like the Side of a Bottle; and thoſe Words, *Thy ſpeech ſhall be low out of the duſt*, allude to the *Whiſper* of their *Divining Spirit*. Thus, I think, I have given a rational Account of the Meaning of the Text, fully juſtify'd the Tranſlators, and clear'd the Expreſſion of Wizards *pieping and muttering*, from the ridiculous Comment of this moſt judicious Critick.

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* *See Mr.* Reeves's *Notes on* Tertullian's *Apologetick*, cap. 23.

I come now to take a View of the first Particular our Author pretends to prove, *p.* 6. Viz. *That this strange Notion of Witchcraft has its Foundation in Heathen Fables.* He tells us, *That not only Men but Women have been famous for Propheſying, whence they were called* Sagæ; *as alſo for wonderful and miraculous Exploits, whence they took the Name of* Lamiæ *or* Veneficæ, *they were call'd* Lamiæ *from their Adventures among little Children.*— *And towards the Bottom of* Page 7. he ſays, *They were ſtiled* VENEFICÆ, *becauſe they were won't to make uſe of Herbs, which they ſuppoſed had ſtrange Kind of Virtues in 'em, for with Herbs or Charms they always acted.* Well, and what is all this but an Argument of the Antiquity of the Notion of Witchcraft? And what does it prove, but that there were ſuch People formerly as well as now, becauſe the Heathens had Witches among them, as no doubt but they had, more than we have among us Chriſtians. What then? Is the Notion it ſelf therefore fabulous and chymerical, becauſe the Heathens had it? Or is it not rather a ſtrong Proof of the *Reality* of the *Being* of Witches, that the Ancients not only believ'd there were ſuch Perſons, but alſo attributed the *ſame Sort of Practices* to them, as the Witches of our Times have confeſs'd themſelves to be guilty of, even to a nice and exact Agreement in many of the moſt minute Circumſtances, which our ſilly old Women can never be ſuppos'd to have learned from the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, Hiſtorians, or Philoſophers, whom they have hardly ever heard of? And therefore I ſay, this Agreement between them is an Argument of the Reality of ſuch Performances; let me mention but one Inſtance of this among a Thouſand, which our Author himſelf puts me in mind of, by quoting the following Paſſage, *p.* 19. out of *Ovid's Epiſtles.* It is, as he ſays, in *Hypſipyle*'s Deſcription of *Medea*, among other Deſcriptions of the extraordinary Power of this notorious Enchantreſs; this is one.

Devovet abſentes, ſimulachraq; Cerea figit,
Et miſerum tenues in Jecur urget Acus.

Thus render'd in *Engliſh*.

In molten Wax, tho' abſent, kills by Art,
Arm'd with her Needle, goars a tortur'd Heart.

Now let us compare this with Part of the Confeſſion of *Eliz. Styles*, confirm'd afterwards, by the Confeſſion of *Alice Duke*, another of the ſame Gang, who were both of 'em ſepa-

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rately examin'd in 1664, before *Robert Hunt* Esq; a Justice of the Peace for *Somersetshire*, concerning this Way of Bewitching, by sticking Needles into Images of Wax, in order to torment those who were represented by those Images. *Eliz. Styles*, after giving an Account of several Meetings of her self and others with the Devil, gives also an Account of several Images of Wax brought at several times to these Meetings, which the Devil, who used to be present in the Shape of a Black Man, would first take in his Arms, and give it a Name, thereby mocking the Christian Baptism; and speaking of one brought to represent *Elizabeth Hill*, she says, they call'd it *Elizabeth* or *Bess*. *Then the Man in Black, this Examinant*, Anne Bishop, *and* Alice Duke *stuck Thorns into several Places of the Neck, Hands, Wrists, Fingers, and other Parts of the said Picture.* See the 2d Part of *Glanvil's Saducismus Triumphatus*, p. 138. This *Elizabeth Hill* was an afflicted Child, suppos'd to be bewitch'd by this Woman, who confesses it, and that she us'd the foregoing Means to torment the Child, which is exactly the same that the Poet says was us'd by the famous Sorceress *Medea*. Now if this Notion of Witchcraft were merely imaginary, and had not some real Foundation in Truth, how come these two poor old Women to agree so exactly with the Poet's Description? unless you'll say they stole it from *Ovid*, to make part of a Confession which cost 'em their Lives. 'Tis likely they thought they had made a new Discovery, which they had never learned themselves, but at these Diabolical Meetings. So that from hence I infer, that the Mention of Witches, and Witchcraft in Heathen Writers, proves no more *than that there were Witches among them*, and is so far from proving the Notion of Witchcraft fabulous, that the Agreement of some of those ancient Rites and Ceremonies of Sorcery, with those that by the Confession of our modern Witches, are now in Use, does rather prove, that this can be no *imaginary* Crime, for in nothing is there greater Variety than in the fanciful Notions of melancholly Persons, whereas Witchcraft has been in many Circumstances the same in all Ages.

Our Author says, *p.* 8. *As for the* Incubi *and* Succubi *Devils, it's manifest they had their Rise from the Fables of ancient Heroes, who were begotten from Conjunction of the Deities with Human Creatures.* And this he makes a Cloak for the Adulteries of the Heathen Priests, who frequently lay with other Mens Wives, under Pretence that the Gods had vouchsaf'd them the Honour of their Company. A very cunning Contrivance this, and likely enough to be true; but although it be allowed, can

make

make nothing againſt Witchcraft, as will plainly appear when we conſider what theſe *Gods* of the Heathens were. They were not a whit better than *Devils*, as is abundantly proved in many of the Writings of the ancient Fathers, and their Prieſts were *Witches* and *Sorcerers*; ſo that inſtead of the Notion of Witchcraft owing its Riſe to Heathen Fables, it is very likely that thoſe very Fables owe their Riſe to Witchcraft; I ſay, theſe *Diabolical Practices* gave Riſe to the Notion of Heroes being begotten by Gods upon Women. Some of theſe falſe Gods did now and then defile ſome of their wretched Votaries, or at leaſt ſo ſtrongly deceived their Imaginations, that they ſeemed really to perform the Office of luſty Men or looſe Women. This *Juſtin Martyr* reproaches them with in his famous Apology for the Chriſtians, which I muſt beg Leave to quote out of Mr. *Reeves*'s excellent Tranſlation of that Apology, not having the Original by me: *Page* 21. ſpeaking of the Gods of the Heathens, he ſays, *Verily I muſt tell you, that heretofore theſe impure Spirits, under various Apparitions, went into the Daughters of Men, and defiled Boys, and dreſs'd up ſuch Scenes of Horror, that ſuch as enter'd not into the Reaſons of Things, but judg'd by Appearance only, ſtood aghaſt at the Spectres, and being ſhrunk up with Fear and Amazement, and never imagining them to be Devils, called them Gods, and invok'd 'em by ſuch Titles, as every Devil was pleaſed to Nickname himſelf by.*— And afterwards he ſays, *We aver theſe Dæmons to be not only not good, but evil and abominable Spirits.*— *And for this worſhipful Reaſon it is, that we are branded with the Name of Atheiſts.* Here you ſee a great Authority for the Reality of that Circumſtance of Witchcraft, which relates to *carnal Copulation with evil Spirits under Human Shapes*, and we find that thoſe evil Spirits called themſelves *Gods*, and made themſelves be believ'd and eſteem'd as ſuch by thoſe they had to do with: So that from hence it plainly appears, this Notion was ſo far from owing its Riſe to Fables, that it gave Birth to thoſe very Stories, and was the *only* Foundation they had in Truth, as all Fables have *ſome* more or leſs.

As for my Author's ſecond Particular, which he takes upon him to affirm, That this Notion of Witchcraft has been improv'd by Papal Inquiſitors, and his *Hiſtory* of the *Inquiſition* for four Pages together, I ſhall only ſay, That as I have already ſhew'd, neither our Laws againſt Witchcraft, nor the Notion we have of it, are owing to Popery; ſo that although it may be true, that the Inquiſition have abuſed it to ſerve a Turn, yet that is nothing at all to us, nor any more an Argument againſt the Reality or Poſſibility of Witchcraft, than the Papiſtical

Abuſes

Abuſes of many of the Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion, are a Proof of the Falſity of thoſe Doctrines, ſince the beſt Things have been and may be abuſed. Paſſing by therefore his *Enquiry into the Inquiſitors*, in which there is not any thing to the Purpoſe, or worth Remark; let us ſee how he makes good his third Poſition, Namely, *That a Witch is not to be found in Scripture.* In order to which he produces three noble Arguments, worthy only to be made uſe of by *ſuch* a *Champion* of *ſuch* a *Cauſe.*

The firſt *Argument* (ſays he) *p.* 12. *ſhall be taken from the Difference between our vulgarly reputed Witches, and thoſe which our Tranſlators of the Bible call ſo. For whom, I pray, do our Tranſlators call Witches, but the Kings, and Queens, and Princes of the Earth, as alſo the Prieſts, Philoſophers, and Wiſe Men of this World? Whereas the Witches now a-days are poor, ſilly, contemptible People.* Cloſe arguing this! Becauſe our Witches are not ſo rich and great as *ſome* formerly were, *Ergo*, they are not at all. But pray, Sir, who told you that the Witch of *Endor* was a Queen or a Princeſs? Or that all thoſe that had Familiar Spirits and Wizards, whom *Saul* drove out of the Land, were at leaſt great Lords and Ladies. Methinks it was a little below her Highneſs the Princeſs of *Endor*, *to take flower and kneed it her ſelf*, as we find ſhe did, 1 *Sam.* 28. 24. Surely the Perſons of Quality, eſpecially the Ladies, were very humble and condeſcending in thoſe Days. For a Princeſs, not only to bring Meat and Drink before *Saul*, but before his *Servants* too, as the Text ſays ſhe did! 'Tis as much as a Country Farmer's Wife will do now-a-days; and who would have thought, that the Devil ſhould teach Houſwifry and Humility to the Ladies. But the World grows wiſer every Day; witneſs this notable Diſcovery of our penetrating and judicious Author.

But what if we grant, that there were indeed ſome Princeſſes among the Witches, ſuch as *Jezabel*, and a King or Two that debaſed himſelf ſo low as to conſult with the Devil; I know, there have been ſome Inſtances of this Nature. We have alſo heard of a Pope that was a Wizard; and there are too many Great Men now-a-days that privately encourage Witchcraft. But what then? Becauſe there are ſome very great Robbers, are there no little ones? Or becauſe our Laws give Noblemen the Privilege of being try'd by their Peers for Witchcraft, therefore do they ſuppoſe there are no poor Witches? Either of theſe Concluſions is as good as my Author's Argument, which he thinks ſtrong enough to prove a Negative. Well! But if this Weapon will not knock us down, here is another that will do the Buſineſs moſt effectually.

Page 13. *The ſecond Argument ſhall be taken from the Sadducees, a famous Sect among the* Jews, *who deny'd Spirits, and the Reſurrection of the Dead, yet had the Five Books of* Moſes *in high Eſteem and Regard; wherefore, either they did not underſtand* Hebrew, *or if they did, the Notion of Witchcraft did not appear in* Moſes, *if this be once granted*, &c. Hold! not ſo faſt, you may ſave your ſelf the Labour of ſetting up a Man of Straw; to tell you in the next Lines, the *Sadducees* did not underſtand *Hebrew*, that you might have the *Honour to confute* him; and be pleas'd to conſider, that the *Sadducees*, in denying the Being of Spirits, deny'd alſo that of *Angels*; for what is an Angel but a Spirit? So that your Argument is as ſtrong againſt the Being of Angels, as Witches. Now the Appearance of Angels is often mention'd in the Five Books of *Moſes*; as for Inſtance, *An Angel appears to Hagar*, Gen. 16. *Three in the Shape of Men to Abraham*, Gen. 18. *Two in the like Shape to Lot*, Gen. 19. *Another calls to Hagar*, Gen. 21. 17. *And ſo does one to Abraham*, Gen. 22. *An Angel appeared to Moſes in the Buſh*, Exod. 3. *An Angel went before the Camp of Iſrael*, Exod. 14. *An Angel met Balaam*, Numb. 22. So that if this Argument be of any Weight, it alſo proves, that all thoſe Words rendred by *Angel*, are falſly tranſlated, as well as thoſe which mention *Conſulters with familiar Spirits*. And if it proves any thing, it proves too much, but in truth it proves nothing. The *Sadducees* were like our modern Sectaries, who *pretend* a much greater Reverence for the Scriptures than they *have*; and even the very *Quakers* come behind none of the reſt in their pretended Reverence for the Scriptures. And yet it would be Madneſs thence to infer, that there is no ſuch thing enjoyned in the New Teſtament, as the Adminiſtration of the two Sacraments, becauſe they who deny the Uſe and Neceſſity of the Sacraments, pretend to a high Eſteem and Regard for the Bible. And yet I appeal to any ſenſible Reader, whether ſuch an Argument is not every-whit as ſtrong, as this my Author brings, to prove, there is no ſuch thing as a Witch in Scripture.

His third and laſt Argument, *p.* 13. *is taken from the different Practices aſcrib'd unto our vulgarly ſuppos'd Witches, and to thoſe in our own Tranſlation of the Bible. For our modern Witches practiſe a ſecret occult Art, and it requires great Skill to diſcover them, by ſeveral ſtrange Signs and Tortures: But thoſe whom our Tranſlators call Witches in the Bible, were ſuch as practiſed what they did openly, and in the Face of the World, making Profeſſion of their Art, which was the counterfeit Art of Propheſying, and working Miracles.* This, I confeſs, is a little ſtrange, that

People

People ſhould be ſo bare-fac'd, as publickly to own, and open-
ly practiſe a Crime, puniſhable with Death *by the Laws*. But
how does he prove it? Why we muſt e'en take his Word for
it, he does not offer to bring the leaſt Shadow of an Argu-
ment, unleſs any one ſhould think that conjectures of a pre-
tended Impoſſibility of *Saul*'s driving them out of the Land,
unleſs they practis'd openly, to be an Argument; and as for
that Fancy of his, this is a ſufficient Inſtance of the contrary,
that notwithſtanding all his Care, he could quickly hear of
one that had a familiar ſpirit when he had Occaſion for it. So
that all his Severity could not entirely drive Witches and Sor-
cerers out of the Country. By which Expreſſion is only meant
his doing all that lay in his Power, to extirpate all Sorcerers;
not that there was ne'er a one left, which is falſe in Fact, for
there was one at *Endor*. See to what pitiful Shifts and far
Fetches is our Author reduced to ſupport his Cauſe. But
alas! Theſe Arguments, I hope, I have ſufficiently ſhewn not
to be ſtrong enough to prove, there is no ſuch thing as a Witch
to be found in Scripture.

Yet as little as can be gather'd from this Witch-Advocate's
three Arguments, to prove there is no ſuch thing as a Witch
in Scripture, in his Opinion they amount to a Demon-
ſtration; and therefore he confidently makes uſe of that as his
firſt Argument, to prove, *That there is no ſuch thing as a Witch
at all*, p. 14. But I ſhall take no Notice of what follows, in
anſwer to thoſe who will by no Means allow this Silence of
the Scriptures to be a concluding Argument, becauſe, I hope,
I have fully made it appear, by my Vindication of the Tran-
ſlation of the Bible, and the ſhort Anſwer I have given to his
three foregoing Arguments, That notwithſtanding all that he
has alledg'd, the Scriptures do expreſly mention Witches, and
ſeverely threaten them, ſo that I find my ſelf at Liberty to ex-
amine his ſecond Reaſon alledg'd, to diſprove the Being of
Witches. *I argue* (ſays he, *p.* 15.) *from the miſerable Poverty
of our vulgarly reputed Witches, that they are wrongfully accuſed*,
and wonders, that if they have ſuch Power with the Devil,
they never command him to fetch them Money or Bread.
This Argument, if he had brought to prove (as I have already
ſaid more at large, *p.* 34. *of Witchcraft farther diſplay'd*) that
the Polity of Hell is unknown to us, and that we cannot have
any certain Knowledge of the Terms of the Covenants made
between Witches and their Familiars, or the Extent of Power
they are allow'd over him, then indeed it would prove his
Point, but it argues nothing more. Beſides, the Devil, as
forward as he is in Promiſing, is not ſo ready at Performing;

he is the Father of Liars from the Beginning, and generally pays his Slaves but very bad Wages. It is farther to be urg'd, that these Sort of Contracts with the Devil, are made by those who call upon him, and invoke his Assistance, to enable them to hurt a Neighbour upon some Provocation receiv'd; and while they are thus drunk with Malice, and an insatiable Desire of Revenge, 'tis very probable, they think no farther at present, than of gratifying their Revenge, and forget to put any other more advantageous conditions into their Bargain, and the Devil scorns to be better than his Word. Add to this, That the Devil does take care to let 'em enjoy some lower and viler Degrees of Pleasure in those merry Meetings, which almost all Witches give an Account of, in which they sing and dance, and regale themselves with Wine, or good Beer, and Cakes, or sometimes daintier Victuals. Many of these Witches have been very confident, that they have been actually present in their Bodies at those Feasts; so that tho' they have not had Money, they have enjoy'd what such wretched Creatures prefer to it, the Gratification of their sensual Appetites and carnal Lusts; which is the chief End they would put their Riches to, had they never so much; so that what Need have they of Money, when they have that which they would before any thing else purchase with it? As for the Objection, that these Enjoyments are only imaginary, if it be so (which is question'd by some) yet that does not alter the Case, since so strong is the deluding Operation of the Devil upon their Imaginations, that they believe all these Pleasures to be real, and are consequently as well satisfy'd with them, as if they were so.

In the third Place, my Author charges those who maintain there are Witches with Irrationality or Impiety, *p.* 16. A heavy Charge this, if it were but sufficiently prov'd: but how does he make it good? Why, he proves 'em *Irrational* thus: *'Tis irrational to think, that the Devils are Creatures full of Malice, and breathing nothing but Mischief against the whole Race of Man, AND THAT THEY suffer a Man to live, when they can so easily kill us at the Command of a Witch.* Which Sentence is very dark and obscure, if the Author means any thing at all by it. Let's try if we can come at the Meaning of it: *It is irrational to think the Devils are full of Malice*; how! That's shocking indeed; and I must do my Author the Justice to own, that, I think, he does not mean, *that the Devils are not full of Malice*; but what then does he mean? I would suspect some Mistake of the Press, and read it thus, *'Tis irrational to think, that the Devils, who are full of Malice,* &c.

&c. But then here my Author must be corrected again, and no less than three Words in the next Line or two blotted out, to make him speak Grammar. However, with his good Leave, I will venture to correct his Text in both Places, and read him thus: *'Tis irrational to think, that the Devils,* who *are Creatures full of Malice, and breathing nothing but Mischief against the whole Race of Man,* (dele *and that they,* & perge) *suffer a Man to live,* &c. Now, I think, I have made my Author speak *English,* and set his Argument in its true Light. But now I must offer in Arrest of the Sentence of Irrationality just passing upon me, who profess my self to believe that there are Witches, the following Plea; which, if my Author will not accept, I hope my impartial Reader will. If it is rational to believe, that there is an *over-ruling Power,* of greater Might than all the Devils in Hell put together, and that this *over-ruling Power* does actually *protect* us from the Power of the Devil, then 'tis not irrational to think the Malice of Hell *does not* destroy us all, because it *cannot* do us any harm without the Divine Permission; but there is such a Power, *ergo* it is not irrational to conclude that the Devils do not destroy us all. On the contrary, I say, 'tis irrational to conclude, that the Divine Providence having taken us into his Protection, and being able to preserve us, should not do it against all the Spite and Malice of Hell, except now and then, when for wise Reasons God shall think fit to permit it.

But here we are met with again, and striving to avoid the *Scylla* of *Irrationality,* are dash'd by our Author upon the *Charybdis* of *Impiety. But if you evade this* (says he) *by saying, the Devils cannot hurt us without the divine Permission; then, I say, 'tis impious to concern the great God with Witchcraft. 'Tis true indeed he may send Death and Diseases amongst the Sons of Men to punish them for their Sins at his own Pleasure, but that he should do so at the Desire of the Devil, at the Command of a Witch, is such a Gratification of Malice, as is far from God to permit.* If in Answer to this we offer to mention the History of *Job,* as an Instance of God's permitting Satan to afflict that good Man, our Mouth is presently stop'd by the Authority of *Calvin,* who says, God does not permit, but *orders* and *determines* the Actions, not only of *Devils,* but wicked *Men,* affirming, *That if Asses could speak, they would speak wiser than those Men, who talk of God's Permission after this Rate.* But with Submission to Great Mr. *Calvin* and Little Mr. *Impossibility,* I say, it is impious to affirm, that God predetermines the Actions of *wicked Men* or *Devils*; for that

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makes God the immediate Author of all the *Sin* and *Evil* that has happen'd since the Beginning of the World; since what is absolutely *decreed* to be, *must* accordingly come to pass, and so the *Freedom* of Man's *Will* is taken away, and with it the *Justice* of Almighty *God*, in *rewarding* or *punishing* either Men or Angels, for constantly *adhering* to his Service, or shamefully *apostatizing* from their Duty to their Creator. But I refer my Reader for the horrid Consequences of this Doctrine to so many of our famous Divines, that have written against this damnable Notion of God's predetermining the Actions of Men or Devils; and observe, that our Solution of these *Phænomena* of Witches, from the Doctrine of the *Divine Permission*, is not liable to the same ill Consequences, because this implies nothing but a temporary *Suspension* of the Interposition of Divine Providence, for some wise and good Ends, by which the Devil finds himself at Liberty to do the Mischief he intended; which he could not do, if Providence oppos'd. The like may be said of the Actions of wicked Men; none of whom could ever be able to hurt a Neighbour, if Providence at the same time actually interposed to hinder them; but nevertheless, if Providence does not so interpose, the Crime is justly chargeable upon them, for God is not oblig'd to protect us against either Men or Devils, but when he pleases: So that God thus *permitting* Witchcraft, that is, *not interposing* to hinder, does by no means by such a Permission concern himself as an *Agent* in it; and consequently those who say the Devils cannot hurt us without the Divine Permission, are *not guilty* of the Impiety of *concerning God* with Witchcraft.

The last Argument my Author produces against the Being of Witches, is as follows: *Lastly*, says he, *p.* 17. *The Vanity and Falseness of their Opinion, who believe there are Witches, appears from nothing more than from this, That it ascribes unto the Devil an Omnipotent Power; insomuch that no Rational Man, by the Light of Reason, shall be able to tell from the History of the Gospel, whether our Saviour himself were a Witch or no.* As to the first part of this Objection, *That the Belief of Witchcraft ascribes unto the Devil an Omnipotent Power*; I deny that this Opinion implies any such thing, as an *Omnipotent* Power of the Devil. It does indeed suppose the Devil to be a Spirit of *great* Power and Might: and, as the Scripture calls him in one Sense, *the God of this World, and Prince of the Power of the Air.* We allow the Devil and his Angels the Power of inflicting Diseases upon our Bodies, and raising extraordinary Commotions in our Souls, which the Devils may do by natural

Means,

Means, only heightned and improved beyond the Reach of any human Art; but yet we do not allow this Power to be *infinite*; no, we all along say 'tis *limited* and *confin'd* by the only Great and Omnipotent *God*, who still holds the Reins in his own Hands, and will not suffer their Power to extend farther than he sees it expedient in his great Wisdom. Besides we say also, that there are some things of so difficult Performance, that it is impossible for the Devil to effect. Thus we read, *Exod.* 8. 18, 19. That all the Art and Power of the Magicians of *Egypt* could not turn *Dust* into *Lice*, though it could do many other wonderful things, such as *turning the Waters into Blood*, and *bringing Frogs upon the Land*; but this it seems was past the Devil's Skill to enable those Sorcerers to perform; *it exceeded their Ability*, (as Dr. *Barrow* observes, Vol. II. of his Works, *p.* 282.) *to prepare or dispose so much Dust for the Reception of Souls, and to furnish so many Souls for the Dust; whence they were forced to confess of that Miracle done by* Moses, *This is the Finger of God.* So that here is a plain Demonstration, that the Power of the Devil, although it be suppos'd to be so great, as to do very extraordinary things, yet cannot from thence be concluded to be unlimited. This Power of the Devils over both our Bodies and Souls is expresly mention'd by *Tertullian* in his *Apologetick*, cap. 22. speaking of evil Spirits, he says, *Operatio eorum est hominis eversio, sic malitia spiritalis a primordio auspicata est in hominis exitium, itaq; corporibus & valetudines infligunt, & aliquos casus acerbos: animæ vero repentinos, & extraordinarios per vim excessus; suppetit illis ad utramque substantiam hominis adeundam subtilitas & tenuitas sua*, &c. Thus very well render'd by Mr. *Reeves*: *The Ruin of Mankind is their whole Employment; these malicious Spirits were bent upon Mischief from the Beginning, and fatally auspicious in their first Attempt, in undoing Man as soon as he was made; and in like manner they practise the same destructive Methods upon all his Posterity, by inflicting Diseases upon their Bodies, and stirring up sudden Tempests and preternatural Emotions in the Soul; and they are fitted by Nature for both these kinds of Evil, the Subtlety and Fineness of their Substance giving them an easy Access to Body and Soul both.* And yet for all this Acknowledgment of the great Power of the Devil, we shall by and by find *Tertullian* boasting of the greater Power of the Name of Christ in casting him out of those whom he had possessed; so that he, it seems, believed the Devil to have this *great Power*, and yet to be far from *Omnipotent*. Before I leave this Point, I will transcribe one Passage more out of the next Chapter of the same

ſame *Apology*, which will ſhew, that he is of Opinion that the Devil exerciſes this his Power at the *Will* and *Command* of *Magicians* and *Sorcerers*: *Porro ſi & magi phantaſmata edunt, & jam defunctorum inclamant animas, ſi pueros in eloquium Oraculi elidunt, ſi multa Miracula circulatoriis Præſtigiis ludunt, ſi & Somnia immittunt, habentes ſemel invitatorum Angelorum, & Dæmonum aſſiſtentem ſibi poteſtatem per quos & capræ & menſæ divinare conſueverunt, quanto magis ea Poteſtas de ſuo arbitrio, & pro ſuo negotio ſtudeat totis Viribus operari quod aliena præſtat Negotiationi?* Thus tranſlated by the Learned Gentleman juſt quoted. *Moreover if Magicians do ſet before their Eyes a Scene of Spectres, and by their black Arts or direful Forms in Necromancy call up the Souls of the Dead; if they throw Children into Convulſions, and a while after make 'em vent the Fury in Oracles; if by their jugling Wiles they delude the Senſes with Abundance of mock Miracles, and inject Dreams in Dead of Sleep, by firſt invoking the Aſſiſtance of their Angels and Dæmons, by whoſe Sophiſtry even Goats and groaning Boards are wont to divine: If then theſe Evil Spirits will do ſo much at the Impulſe of Men, what will they not do by their own Impulſe, and for their own Intereſt?* &c. So *Minucias Fœlix* in his *Octavia's*, that other famous Apology for the *Chriſtians*, pag. 49. Edit. Cantab. *Magi quoq; non tantum ſciunt Dæmonas, ſed etiam quicquid Miraculi ludunt, per Dæmonas faciunt: illis aſpirantibus & infundentibus præſtigias edunt: vel quæ non ſunt videri, vel quæ ſunt non videri.* Thus engliſh'd by Mr. *Reeves*. *The Magicians alſo are not only ſenſible of Dæmons, but all the ſtrange Pranks they play are perform'd by Dæmons. 'Tis they who give that Efficacy to Enchantments, as to make Men ſee Things which are not, and not to ſee Things which are.* From which Places I conclude, that I have the Authority of theſe two great Champions of the Chriſtians, againſt the Conſequence my Author draws from the Belief of Witchcraft, that then muſt of Neceſſity be aſcrib'd to the Devil an *Omnipotent* Power; for we ſee theſe great Apologiſts a little after, triumphing and exulting upon Account of the Power the Primitive Chriſtians had over Evil Spirits, which I ſhall make Part of my Reply to the laſt Clauſe of the Objection, *Viz.* That no Man can know by the Light of Reaſon, *whether our Saviour Chriſt was a Witch or no.*

For how can it be imagin'd, that our Saviour Chriſt perform'd his miraculous Works by the Aſſiſtance of the Devil, when the whole Tenour of his Proceedings was directly level'd againſt the Kingdom of Darkneſs, when he *caſt out Devils*, both out of the Bodies and Souls of Men. This is that *Diſarming and Binding the ſtrong One*, which our Saviour brings

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as a most conclusive Argument, that he was not only not assisted by the Infernal Powers, but the greatest and most formidable Enemy they had, *Luke* 11. 22. Would the Prince of Darkness contribute so much to his own Disgrace, and the Ruin of his Kingdom? No certainly, the Miracles of Christ tended only to the Glory of God, *Matt.* 9. 8. *And when the Multitude saw it they marvelled, and glorified God, who had given such power unto Men*; and therefore they were undoubtedly wrought by the Finger of God. For who can think, that the Devil would be an Instrument of giving Praise and Honour to Almighty God?

A farther and most convincing Proof, that our Saviour's wonderful Works were perform'd, by the mighty Power of God, is his being able to impart that Power to his Disciples, and expresly enjoyning them to make use of that Power against the Devil. *Cure the Sick, cleanse the Lepers, cast out Devils*, says he to his Apostles, *Matt.* 10. 8. And we read, that after he had given almost the like Charge to the Seventy Disciples, and given them a Power superiour to all the Power of the Enemy, *they returned with joy, saying, Lord, even the Devils are subject to thy Name*, Luke 10. 17. This Power continued for several Ages in the Primitive Church, who gloried in it as an unconteſtable Proof of the Truth and Divinity of the Doctrine which they preached; and was so far from doing any Service to the Kingdom of Satan, that it prov'd the utter Ruin of it: By this Power they detected the Impostures of those evil Spirits, and made them, who had so long vaunted themselves to be *Gods*, confess themselves to be *Devils*. By this Power they drove 'em out of those whom they had possess'd, and from their very Altars and Temples; how then could it proceed originally from Satan? How could our Saviour Christ use the Assistance of *evil Spirits*, when his *Name* alone was so great a Terror to them, that they could not hear it without *Torture?*

I cannot here omit that bold Challenge of *Tertullian* in the same Apology, where he provokes the Heathen Governour to this Trial of the Truth of the Christian Religion, from the Subjection of evil Spirits to the Christians. *Edatur hic aliquis* (says he) *sub Tribunalibus vestris, quem Dæmone agi constet. Jussus a quodam Christiano loqui, Spiritus ille, tam se Dæmonem confidebitur de vero, quam alibi Deum de falso— nisi se Dæmones confessi fuerint Christiano mentiri non audentes ibidem illius Christiani procarissimi Sanguinem fundite. Quid isto Opere manifestius? Quid hac Probatione fidelius? Let a Dæmoniack be brought into Court, and the Spirit which possesses him be command-*

ça by any Christian to declare what he is, he shall confess himself as truly to be a Devil, as he did falsly before profess himself to be a God—After naming some of the reputed Gods of the Heathen, he goes on—*If these, I say, do not declare themselves in Court to be Devils, not daring to lie in the Presence of a Christian, that Christian is willing to be taken for the Cheat, and stands ready to answer for it with his own Blood. What now can be more glaringly evident than this Demonstration from Fact? What Proof more unexceptionable?* The like Assertions and Challenges may be produced from other Fathers.

Now I say, this Power, that the Primitive Christians had over evil Spirits by the Name of Christ, proves first, That altho' these Spirits had great Power to afflict and torment, both the Bodies and Souls of the unhappy Dœmoniacks; yet it cannot from thence be inferr'd, that their Power was *infinite*, for the Christians had them in *Subjection*. And *2dly*, That *our Saviour* was not, in our Author's prophane Language, *a Witch*; and that it may reasonably be collected, that he was not so, without denying that the Devil is indeed a Spirit of *great Power*, altho' by no means *Omnipotent*.

As for the Decree of the *Ancyran* Council, if my Author had been pleas'd to have quoted it, I might have said something to it; but from what he says of its being made upon Account of the Error of the *Manichæi*, who believed two Independant Principles, the one Good, the other Evil, and Witches and *Manichæans* being put together in the Rescript of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*: I infer against him, that there were really Witches at that Time, else how came they to be joyned with the *Manichæans?* And also that the Decree was made against those, who held the Devil to be wholly *independent* upon God, and to have an *omnipotent* Power, which, I hope, I have shewn, cannot be concluded from the Belief of *Witchcraft*. The like may be said of the Decree of the Council of *Bracara*, which is plainly levell'd against the *Manichæans* and *Priscillianists*.

My Author having done with his Arguments, sets himself to answer all Objections; and to those who urge the *Credibility of Testimony* to the many strange Facts done by Witchcraft, he says, he does not deny but they prove the Being of *Spirits*, but not of *Witches*; he believes these Things may be done by *Spirits*, but demands a Reason why they should be done upon Account of a Contract made between any Man or Woman, and the Devil?

And then, in Answer to those who alledge for a Reason, that *Persons tormented have fallen into their Fits upon the Touch*

of

of ſuſpected Witches, &c. he ſuppoſes, *p.* 23. That theſe Spirits make it the *Cream of their Jeſt*, to ſee poor *innocent* People *hang'd*, and therefore *promote* the *Accuſation*, and *procure* the *Condemnation* of theſe miſerable Wretches: To which I anſwer, That the principal Aim of the malicious Devils is againſt our *Souls*; They envy Us the Happineſs of our Redemption, in which, *unhappy they*, have no Share, and therefore they endeavour to do us all the Miſchief they can, by ſeducing us to Eternal Ruin. Now the Devil would loſe the *Cream of his Jeſt*, if by bringing a poor innocent old Woman into Trouble for Witchcraft, he ſhould thereby put her upon repenting of her Sins, and *gaining a Place*, by ſuch her Repentance, in *Paradiſe*, which is very likely to be effected by an unjuſt Proſecution. An innocent Perſon accuſed and condemn'd for ſuch a Crime, would naturally beg Pardon for his paſt Sins, which deſerv'd ſuch an heavy Judgment upon him, and perhaps the God of Mercy might accept of ſuch a Temporary Puniſhment, inſtead of an Eternal one; ſo that this *eaſie* and *unconſtrain'd* Account of the Matter, as our Author *thinks* it to be, is by no Means conſiſtent with the known *Policy* of the *Grand Deceiver*.

Again, ſays he, to the Objection, that ſuch Things have happen'd upon the *Threatnings* of the Parties accuſed: *the World has ſtood many Years, and therefore it is not to be wonder'd, that there has happen'd in it a notable Concurrence of Events*: But I ſay, it is to be wonder'd, that conſtantly upon the Threats of one particular Perſon, unaccountable Hurts, and thoſe too the *ſame* Hurts threatned, ſhould always fall upon the Perſons againſt whom theſe Evils are denounced, as in the Caſe of *Jane Wenham*; ſo that here is Wonder againſt Wonder. *Par Congreſſus.*

To the next Objection from the *Confeſſion of Perſons accuſed*, and that particularly of *Jane Wenham*, he anſwers, that it may be the Effect of *Melancholy*, &c. To which I reply, That in the Caſe of *Jane Wenham*, it was not to be ſuppos'd, that either Melancholy, or any thing elſe but the Terrors of a guilty Conſcience extorted this Confeſſion from her; but having fully anſwer'd this Objection in *Witchcraft farther Diſplay'd*, p. 37. I refer my Reader to the Place.

I find nothing farther in my Author worth any Remark, for his attributing the Notion of Witches to ſuperſtitious Fear, is ſo very inconcluſive, and indeed ſo ridiculous, that it needs no Anſwer. And then that there have been ſome Impoſtures grounded upon this Notion, is what I will not deny, neither doth it any ways effect the preſent Argument, any more than

the being of Counterfeit Money proves there is no true Gold. So that having nothing more to say, except I would follow my Author's Example, and give my self Thanks and Praise for my Performance, as he does at the End of his Book, which, I think, may as well be let alone: I take my Leave of him, and heartily wish him a *good Night's Rest*, which I believe, he *stands in need of*, as much as I do.

REMARKS upon a Pamphlet Entituled, *A full Confutation of Witchcraft.*

BEfore I had quite finish'd my Answer to the *Impossibility of Witchcraft*, I receiv'd another Pamphlet, as confident and promising in the Title-page as the former; engaging not only to confute the *Depositions* against *Jane Wenham*, but to prove by Arguments, that *Witchcraft* was *Priestcraft*. Having found by Experience, that such *Big Title-pages*, as *Big Looks* are not the surest Marks of a Man of *Courage*) do not infallibly assure the Reader of a *great Performance*, I made bold to look into the Book. Wherever I cast my Eye, I was accosted with *Priestcraft*, *Pious Frauds*, *Ridiculous Stories*, *Midsummer Nights Dreams*, and other such honourable Appellations arbitrarily impos'd upon the *Matters of Fact depos'd*, and the *Relators* of them saluted with such Compliments as these, *a Parcel of Brainsick People*; one of the chiefest of them in particular is called a *Fierce Bigot*, a *Superstitious Believer*— *Wise-acres*— *A Pack of Ideots*, &c. At which I began to be of good Courage, well knowing by the plentiful Scatterings of *Billingsgate* Language, That the Arguments were very sparingly sown; for it is certainly below a Gentleman, or a Scholar, to defile his Writings with such scandalous Treatment of *those*, against whom he would be thought to *argue*; which he can never do closely, while he gives himself Leave to rail.

Being thus embolden'd to read over my *Confuter*, I observ'd all along, that his *Confutation* was as *strong*, and his *Reasoning* as *fair*, as his *Language* was *Clean* and *Polite*. The chief Thing he proposes to himself, is to shew the Absurdity and Inconsistency of the Depositions against *Jane Wenham*; but as for strong Arguments that Witchcraft is Priestcraft, if positive Affirmations won't pass as such, he has none for us at present; and 'tis enough for his Purpose that they stand in the *Title-page*, no matter for the *Book*. Let us see therefore how he en-

endeavours to *confute* the Depositions. And first it will be necessary to consider what is required, to the Confutation of credible Testimony upon Oath, relating to Matters of Fact.

I think, it will be agreed upon by all sides, that in order to do this, he that undertakes it, must either *1st*, know so much of the Matter himself, as to be able to prove either by his own Testimony or that of others, that these Witnesses have depos'd what is false. Or, *2dly*, He must be able by comparing one Part of the Evidence with another, to shew some very remarkable Disagreement between the Witnesses, in some very material Circumstances, insomuch that supposing one Part of the Evidence to be true, the other must be false. Or, *3dly*, He must be able to prove, that the Witnesses were so far corrupted as to perjure themselves, and upon what Motives they came to be so corrupted. Or else, *4thly*, He must evidently demonstrate the Impossibility of the Facts alleg'd to be done; and in this Case of Witchcraft, must prove these Facts impossible to be done by the Power of evil Spirits, or that it is impossible for evil Spirits to enter into Contract with Men or Women, and to covenant to do these Things at their Desire, which will do as well. Now one of these four Things, I presume to say, is absolutely necessary to confute the Story of the Witchcrafts of *Jane Wenham*. But our Confuter, it seems, is not of my Mind, and thinks it sufficient to set up his own bare *Conjectures* against our *Oaths*, and yet has the Face to call this a *full Confutation*. To satisfie my Reader that this is not *gratis dictum*, I will desire him to compare, *p.* 3, 4, and 5. of the *Account of the Discovery of Sorcery and Witchcraft*, with *p.* 9, and 10. of this *full Confutation*. I will not transcribe the Story at large out of the fore-mentioned Account, supposing that most of those, who will be Readers of this, may have that by them; but our Author's Account of the Matter I must not omit. "Now the genuine Account of the Matter (says he, *p.* 9.) "seems to be this. *Anne Thorn*, sitting by the Kitchin-Fire, "musing, and her Spirits being under a growing Disorder, as "we may rationally suppose they were by the Sequel: Such "an irregular Motion as stripping her self, might strike upon her Fancy, and she be prompted to take off her Gown, "and gather up a few Oaken Twigs, which lie generally "loose about a Kitchen Hearth, and make them up in a "Bundle. That being seiz'd with an Epileptic Fit, as the "Symptom of finding a Roaming in her Head, (by which no "doubt she meant a Giddiness or Vertigo) plainly indicates, "*Jane Wenham*, who was in her Thoughts just at her going "into the Fit, might very probably beat strongly upon her

"Ima-

" Imagination during that Paroxyſm; and that Mrs. *Gardiner*
" coming in at the Cloſe of the Fit, and finding her in that
" diſorder'd Poſture, *Anne Thorn* related to her what was ſo
" warm upon her Fancy. This (continues he) is natural to
" ſuppoſe, without ſtretching Reaſon or common Senſe." The Reader here finds a meer Conjecture of the Author's offer'd to ſolve this Phœnomenon, without the Maid's ſtirring from the Fire Side, (which by the bye, was a *Coal* Fire, and ſo it was not ſo very probable that Oaken Twiggs might be ſcatter'd up and down the Hearth) but it being impoſſible that this ſhould go down with any ſenſible Reader, who has taken Notice, that two of *John Chapman*'s Men atteſted, they met her running up the Hill with a prodigious Swiftneſs, that they endeavour'd to ſtop her, but could not, which was confirm'd by *Daniel Chapman*, who met her, being on Horſeback, *Vide, The full Account*, p. 5. To get over this Difficulty, he very fairly accuſes Mr. *Gardiner* and *my ſelf* (who went immediately upon the Relation *Anne Thorn* had given us of her Adventure, to *John Chapman*'s, to enquire whether his Men had really met her in the Way) of willful *Subornation* of falſe Witneſſes againſt *Jane Wenham*. Theſe are his Words, *p.* 10. " *But here was a*
" *good Handle for a Story againſt the ſuſpected* Jane Wenham;
" *and when they were furniſh'd with ſuch Materials from the poor*
" *Delirant, they might as well make a Wild gooſe Chaſe of it, as*
" *let the Scene be confin'd to ſo narrow a Compaſs as a Chimney-*
" *Corner. Evidence in ſuch a Caſe could not be long a procuring. Accordingly two of* John Chapman's *Men are pitched upon as Witneſſes to this half Mile Courſe of* Anne Thorn's; *one of which, I preſume, was the Fellow that was ſent to pick Straws*, &c. After firſt acquainting my Author, that he has gueſs'd wrong, and that the Fellow who was ſent to pick Straws, was not one of the Men that met *Anne Thorn* by the Way; I demand of him how he knows all this to be true? And if he does not know it to be true, if his own Conſcience teſls him that it is moſt abominably falſe, as indeed it is, how could he have the Face to print ſuch a ſcandalous Untruth? Is it nothing with him, to make ſo free with Gentlemen's Reputations, as to expoſe 'em to the World in Print, as the moſt deteſtable of perjur'd Subornerſ? Is this the Part of a Gentleman, and a Man of a publick Character? No, this Author's Uſage of Mr. *Gardiner* and my ſelf in this Place; of Mrs. *Gardiner*, p. 20. where he repreſents *her as one likely enough to perjure her ſelf in her Depoſition, and give ſome Colourings of her own, to the ridiculous Account ſhe was to relate*; And of Mr. *Strutt*, *p.* 33. where ſpeaking of *Wenham*'s Confeſſion to him, the Queſtions he ask'd her,

and

and the Anſwers ſhe returned him, he crys out, *I cannot help believing but the whole Catechiſm, both Queſtion and Anſwer, were contriv'd by the Prieſt.* Theſe baſe and ſcandalous Reflections ſhew ſo much of the *Scoundrel*; that I am fully ſatisfied no *Hertfordſhire Phyſician* is the Author of this Paper, but be he who he will, he beſt deſerves to be anſwer'd by a *good Drubbing*. And yet forſooth this muſt be call'd Confutation! A few ridiculous Conjectures againſt credible Teſtimony of Matters of Fact.

At this rate he runs on to confute the whole Story of *Anne Thorne*'s Diſorder, ſuppoſes her to be ſtark mad, and by and by to the Objection, that *Anne Thorn* was compos'd and free from any Diſorder before theſe Fits, he anſwers, *p.* 12. in an obſcure *Empyrical Account* of certain *Stagnations* and *Putrefactions* of *Humours about the Bowels*, which is nothing at all to the purpoſe, becauſe *Anne Thorn* was as much compos'd at all other times, as juſt before her Fits, ſo that that Compoſure could not be occaſion'd by *that Calm and Slowneſs of Motion in the Animal Spirits, which is obſerved in Maniacks or mad People, juſt before they fall into their Diſtemper.*

After this he comes to *Anne Thorn*'s going again to fetch Sticks, and leaping over Five-bar Gates in her Paſſage, which according to his way of confuting what is upon Oath, he places among the Midſummer Nights Dreams. But now he outs with all his Arguments at once: He *denies it to be in the Power of any Perſon, the World calls a Witch, to force any Perſon againſt their Wills upon ſuch trifling Errands, or to act ſo upon them, as to make them leap Five-bar Gates*, &c. p. 14. With ſubmiſſion, he that argues againſt Matter of Fact ought to prove what he aſſerts. But inſtead of this, he demands the *Modus* of an evil Spirit's acting upon a Perſon in the Condition that we ſuppoſe *Anne Thorn* to have been in. If we ſay, that by ſtrong working upon His or Her Imagination he deprives him of his Liberty, then he asks how this Dœmon came by his Power? If to this we anſwer, That God Almighty, when he created the Angels, gave them greater Power than he has given to Men; and that it appears from Holy Scripture, that the Devils, altho' fallen from their Primitive Innocence, are yet Spirits of very great Power and Might, and urge that the Devil is called in Holy Writ, *the God of this World, and Prince of the Power of the Air*; Appellations which imply a great Superiority of Strength over that of weak and frail Man; and that the ſubtil Nature of thoſe Spirits enables them to work very ſtrongly upon Man's *Imagination*, and conſequently upon his *Will*; and if we urge all this, I ſay he thinks he has us ſure, by objecting

that

that this is inconsistent with the Providence and Goodness of the Supream Being. *Can it* (says he) *possibly suit with the Divine Wisdom and Goodness? Is there any Agreement between so immense a Power lodg'd in a revengeful Spirit, and the Divine Love to Mankind joyned with his Knowledge of their Weaknesses?* &c. In answer to which, after referring him to what I have said to this Objection, *p.* 33. Of *Witchcraft farther Display'd*, and what I have also said in that Part of my Answer to the *Impossibility of Witchcraft*, where I argue against those who make the Assertors of the real Existence of Witches ascribe to the Devil an Omnipotent Power. I say, That this Objection is as strong against God's permitting the Devil to inflict *Diseases* upon our *Bodies*, as in the Case of *Holy Job*, whose Story is a convincing Proof, whatever some may say, of God's permitting the Devil to afflict us in our Bodies and Estates too, when for wise and good Reasons he shall think fit. It is also as strong against the Power of the Devil violently to bend our Inclinations, and strongly tempt us to Sin; nay, the Argument is so much the stronger in this Case, by how much the Damage he does to our Souls, is greater than any he can inflict upon our Bodies. But as God has promised us, that we shall not *be tempted beyond what we are able, and that with the Temptation, he* will provide for us *a Way to escape*; so also in these Afflictions of our Bodies, by the Power of evil Spirits, God will find a Way to deliver us, altho' for a Time he suffers us to be afflicted for wise and good Reasons, which may perhaps lie hidden from our Sight, yet are never the less wise and good for being so. Especially, if by earnest Prayer we seek unto him for Help, whose mighty Arm is able to protect us from all the Power and Malice of the Devil and his Angels, and to make us full Amends for these Temporary Sufferings, provided we make a right Use of them, with an *Eternal Weight of Glory.*

In the next Place, my Author wonders how a Dœmon, that has no Body of his own, *p.* 16. should act upon Human Bodies, and seems to be of their Opinion, that Matter only can act upon Matter, and that by Contact only. I shall not at present enter into a Dispute, whether Spirit alone can act upon Matter, since he thinks fit to set this aside as too abstruse, and shall only say, that supposing according to the *Platonic* Philosophy, every Spirit informs some material Vehicle, whether *Aerial* or *Ætherial* it matters not, and that by condensing this Vehicle it may act upon more solid Bodies, this may very easily be accounted for; nay indeed, enough to serve our present Purpose may be gathered from Spirits being able to

work

work upon other Spirits, without any regard had to the Intervention of Matter. The Devil may ſo act upon Men Souls, which are Spirits, as to engage them to move their Bodies whither he pleaſes, as in the caſe of *Anne Thorn*'s running for Sticks.

But he goes on, *p.* 16. *You'll ſay, perhaps the Supreme Being permits this Dœmon or Familiar to enter the Body of the Perſon, and ſo actuate it as it pleaſes. What a Chain of Abſurdities muſt we admit of here! We muſt ſuppoſe God working a Miracle upon every trifling Occaſion to oblige the evil Spirits*, &c. Here he takes notice of a Solution of the Matter, which is very clear and rational; for ſuppoſing a Dœmon enters the Body of the Afflicted, which is indeed probable enough, an eaſy Account may then be given of all theſe ſurprizing Appearances. No, but (ſays he) this muſt not be allow'd, becauſe it ſuppoſes God working a Miracle to oblige the evil Spirits; to which I anſwer, that this implies no *Miracle*, but only God's bare *Permiſſion*, it being no more than Spirits may eaſily do, if permitted, according to the *Laws* and *Capacity* of their *Condition*. Beſides our Author's Conſequence will alſo prove, that God worked a Miracle for the evil Spirits, when ever they enter'd the *Dœmoniacks* in the Goſpel, to drive the Devil out of whom *our Saviour* was at the Expence of a Miracle. Than which, nothing can be more blaſphemous and abſurd. But perhaps to this he will reply, that the Words *having a Devil*, are only a *Figurative* Expreſſion, and ſignify no more than having ſtrange and incurable *Diſeaſes*. But the Vanity of this Evaſion will eaſily appear from the Conſideration that the *Cure of Diſeaſes* is plainly diſtinguiſhed in Holy Writ from *caſting out Devils*. We read, *Mat.* 4. 24. *And they brought unto him all ſick People, that were taken with divers Diſeaſes and Torments, and thoſe that were poſſeſs'd with Devils, and thoſe that were Lunatick*, &c. So *Luke* 16. 18. *He healed them of their Diſeaſes, and thoſe that were vexed with unclean Spirits, were brought unto him, and he healed them likewiſe.* Add to this, that the Devils cry'd out of thoſe that were poſſeſs'd among the *Gergaſens*, *Mat.* 8. 16. and beſought our Saviour, ſaying, *Suffer us to go into the Herd of Swine.* Now the Perſons afflicted could not be thought to deſire this, that were an unaccountable ſort of Poſſeſſion indeed, for a Man to enter into Swine; ſo that it muſt be meant of the Devil, who ſpoke out of the Man. Many Inſtances of this may be produc'd from Scripture, but theſe ſhall ſuffice at preſent.

This Confuter having now ſpent his Stock of Arguments, goes on with his *ſheer Banter*, as I ſuppoſe he thinks it, tho'

others are of Opinion, that it is nothing but Misrepresentation and ill Language. For my part, I think it below my Regard, till I come to the 18*th* Page, where for our own Vindication I am oblig'd to take notice of a notorious Untruth, which I wonder how he could have the Confidence to think of imposing upon his Readers, who might at one Glance only, upon turning to the Place referr'd to, find out his unfair Representation of the Matter. *Great Stress*, says he, is laid upon *Jane Wenham*'s repeating that Sentence in the Lord's Prayer, *Lead us not into Temptation*, with two *Negatives*. Now we were so far from laying any great Stress upon this, that he cannot make it appear that any stress at all is laid upon it. In two Places of the *Account of the Discovery*, &c. mention is made of her not being able to say the Lord's Prayer, *p.* 10, *&* 12. *P.* 10. it is said, that she could not say this Sentence, *Forgive us our Trespasses*, nor this, *Lead as not into Temptation*. In the 12*th* Page are express'd the various Ways she had of turning and winding these two Sentences together, *Lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us not from Evil*; and among these Changes of Expression, she once repeats the first of these Sentences with two Negatives. But no stress is laid upon that, any more than any other of her ways of repeating those Sentences. Nor indeed is any so *great* stress laid upon her not being able to say the Lord's Prayer, it is by no means made, as my Confuter calls it, the *Criterion of a Witch*. It has indeed been an old Observation, that Witches could not say the Lord's Prayer: We had a mind to try this Experiment on *Jane Wenham*, we found she could not do it; this seem'd to us a *Circumstance* of Guilt, but we never thought it a *convincing Proof*, or made use of it as such.

I pass by the rest of his Raillery, till we come to *Jane Wenham*'s Confession to Mr. *Strutt*, to evade the Strength of which, he says the Questions were all *ensnaring* and *superficial*, p. 33. I know not what he may call an ensnaring Question; to ask any Person accused of a Capital Crime, whether he be guilty or no, may in one sense be called ensnaring, since upon Confession follows Conviction and Sentence. As for their being *superficial*, if asking her whether she was a Witch or no, how long she had been so, what induced her to bewitch this Maid, and the like, are Questions not to the purpose, I would gladly know what may be thought so. 'Tis true they might have asked her more Questions, but the reason why they did not, was because her Kinsman *Archer* declar'd himself fully satisfied in her Guilt, and they were so stricken with Horror at the Discovery of so much Wickedness, that the great Concern that was upon them made them unwilling for the present to hear

hear any more, and indeed no good Man but would be more than ordinarily troubled at the firſt Diſcovery of ſuch Helliſh Combinations with the Devil. This ſtruck a Damp upon their Spirits which made them glad to retire, and their purſuing the Matter no farther, when ſhe was in the confeſſing Humour, is a ſtrong Argument that they meant not the leaſt Harm to the poor old Woman, bore no ill Will to her, but only to the horrid Crime whereof ſhe ſtood accus'd.

The reſt of this Confuter's Comment on the Story of *Jane Wenham*, being of a Piece with the former, and conſiſting of nothing, but a few Miſrepreſentations and ridiculous Conjectures, I don't think worth taking any farther Notice of. But this Author being not the only one who makes Sport with *Anne Thorn*'s recovering out of her Fits by Prayers, I ſhall conclude this with a Word or two concerning this good Effect of Prayer. And here I muſt obſerve, that the Reverend Clergymen, who pray'd by *Anne Thorn* in her Fits, were ſo far from arrogating to themſelves any extraordinary Power of diſpoſſeſſing the Devil, that they never once made uſe of any *Adjurations* or other Forms of *Exorciſm* whatſoever. They did not ſo much as attempt to *command* the evil Spirit to come out of the Afflicted, by the powerful Name of *Jeſus*, at which the Devils tremble, and all the Powers of Hell are more diſmay'd, than the whiffling Scepticks of this Age. No, they took a modeſter Courſe, immediately addreſs'd themſelves to the Throne of Grace, and implor'd the Aſſiſtance of Heaven; they knew, that the Almighty Arm alone was ſufficient againſt ſuch extraordinary Inſults of the Devil, and therefore in an humble Manner they called for Help from God, and no ſooner had they begun to pray, but they found their Prayers anſwer'd, even before they were all offer'd up. As for what this Confuter ſays, that *they having a round Number of Collects to ply* the afflicted *Anne Thorn* with, *'twas ten to one if the Paroxiſm did not abate in that Time*, p. 46. I anſwer, 'twas always obſerv'd, that ſhe began to recover immediately at the *Beginning* of the Prayers; and by the Time we had repeated three or four Sentences of the Lord's Prayer, which was generally the firſt uſed, ſhe was able to join with us in the reſt, altho' the Minute before ſhe was ſpeechleſs, and to all Appearance ſenſeleſs; and this conſtantly happen'd ſometimes in the very Beginning of a Fit, within a Minute or two after it had ſeiz'd her, in which Time the Paroxiſm could not abate naturally, and by Degrees, which is indeed a very good Reaſon, why the Abatement of her Fits ſhould be attributed to the Succeſs of Prayers.

I wiſh theſe Gentlemen, who are ſo angry at our calling upon God in this Extremity, would ſhew us a better Way. We are directed by St. *James*, chap. 5. v. 14, 15. to uſe this as the beſt Remedy, *Is any ſick among you, let him call for the Elders of the Church, and let them pray over him—and the Prayer of Faith ſhall ſave the Sick.* And for our Encouragement he tells us, *v.* 16. *The effectual fervent Prayer of a righteous Man availeth much*; which he confirms in the two following Verſes by the Example of *Elias*, who *prayed earneſtly that it might not rain, and it rained not for the Space of three Years and ſix Months*; *and he prayed again, and the Heavens gave Rain*, &c. This we have found by our own Experience to be true, that God is ready to hear and anſwer the Prayers of his faithful Servants, and we hope it may ſerve in ſome meaſure to create a due Reverence and Reſpect to Prayers in general, and thoſe of our Holy Church in particular, ſo happily uſed on this Occaſion, which is all the Advantage the Clergy expect to reap, from this remarkable Occurrence, which can never be thought (as our Author injuriouſly ſuggeſts) to bring in any, much leſs *weighty Offerings*.

FINIS.

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FINIS.

P. 429. 434. "I am well informed, that the late Dr. Stebbing, when a young man, wrote a pamphlet or two in favour of Jane Wenham [condemned for a witch at Hertford, 1712]. This poor woman, againſt the opinion of the judge who tried her, was found guilty by the jury. She however received a pardon from the Queen; and a gentleman in the country provided her an apartment over his ſtables, ſent her victuals from his table, and ſuffered her to attend on his children. She was ever after looked upon by the family as an honeſt, good-natured woman. Mr. Bragge, in his evidence on her trial, declared, on the faith of a clergyman, he believed her to be a witch; whereupon the judge told him, that therefore, on the truth of a judge, he took him to be no conjurer." He alſo told the jury that they ſhould not look for witches among the old women, but among the young.

WITCHCRAFT:—WENHAM (Jane, *the Witch of Walkerne, Herts*) TRACTS concerning: Account of her Sorcery and Witchcraft upon the Bodies of Anne Thorn, Anne Street, etc., with her Tryal, *E. Curll*, 1712—Case of the Hertfordshire Witchcraft Considered, and Examination of the Preceding, '12—Bragge (J.) Defence of the Proceedings against Jane Wenham, *corner of title neatly mended, E. Curll*, '12—in 1 vol. post 8vo. *calf*, SCARCE, £1. 4*s*

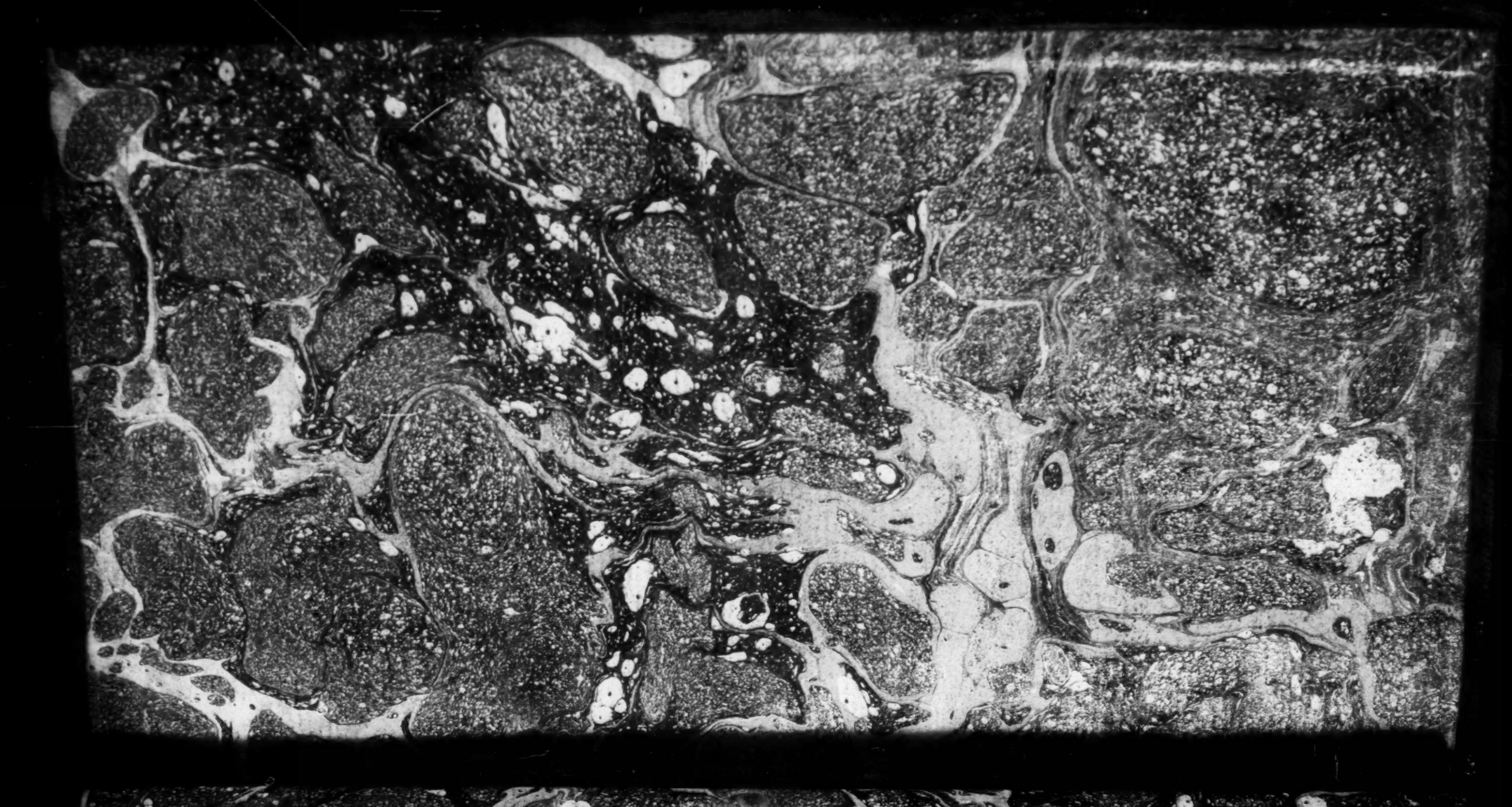
This case caused a great deal of stir and discussion. Jane Wenham was found guilty of the charge on which she was tried, viz. "for conversing with the Devil in the shape of a Cat," and was sentenced to Death on March 4th, 1712.

JANE WENHAM, THE WALKERNE "WITCH."

At the beginning of the last century the public mind was considerably agitated by a tale of witchcraft said to have been practised by Jane Wenham, of Walkerne, in this county; whose trial gave rise to various pamphlets in which the question of witchcraft was argued with much vehemence and passion. The trial itself went through several editions under the title of "A full and impartial account of the discovery of sorcery and witchcraft, practised by Jane Wenham of Walkerne in Hartfordshire, upon the bodies of Anne Thorne and Anne Street, &c." The proceedings against her from her first being committed to gaol by Sir Hy Chauncey; also her Tryal at the Assizes at Hertford before Mr. Justice Powell, where she was found guilty of felony and witchcraft, and received sentence of death for the same Mar. 4th 1711-12 By T. Bragge, 8vo." This poor woman, against the opinion of Judge Powell, who tried her, was found guilty by the jury. She, however, received a pardon from the Queen; and a gentleman in the county provided her an apartment over his stables, sent her victuals from his table, and suffered her to attend on his children. She was ever after looked upon by the family as an honest, good-natured woman. See Burt's letters from the north of Scotland, vol. I. 280. Mr. Bragge, in his evidence on her trial, declared, on "the faith of a clergyman," that "he believed her to be a witch," whereupon the Judge told him that "therefore on the truth of a judge, he took him to be a nonjuror." (Gough's Brit. Top. I. 434). This was replied to by "The case of the Hertfordshire Witchcraft considered," 1712, a copy of which I have in my library. Bragge, vicar of Hitchin, published a second tract, called "Witchcraft further displayed," vindicating himself and upholding the existence of witchcraft, Lond. 1712, 8vo. Then followed "The impossibility of Witchcraft," 8vo., ascribed to Mr. Pittis, 1712, and also "A full Confutation of Witchcraft in a letter from a physician in Herts to a friend in London," 8vo., 1712. The last two were answered by "Defence of the proceedings against Jane Wenham," &c., by Bragge, A.B. Lond. 1712. Also the "Belief of Witchcraft vindicated," &c., by S.R.A.M., answered by "The impossibility of Witchcraft further demonstrated," &c., &c. Six years after, in 1716, the affair was again discussed by Dr. Hutchinson in his historical essay concerning witchcraft, chap. 10, pp. 1-29.—A. E. GIBBS.

401 **Hertfordshire Witches.**—The Case of the Hertfordshire Witchcraft considered, being an Examination of a Work entitled "a full and impartial Account of the Discovery of Sorcery and Witchcraft practised by JANE WENHAM of Walkern, upon the Bodies of ANNE THORNE, ANNE STREET, etc." (86 pages), 8vo, *unbound, very scarce*, 7s 6d 1712

WITCHCRAFT—Trial of Jennet Preston, of Gisborne in Craven, at the York Assizes, July, 1612, for practising Devilish and Wicked Arts, called Witchcraft, post 8vo. sewed, 1s. 6d. 1851

*** "The whole process shows the ridiculous evidence that was deemed sufficient in the reign of James the First to deprive a poor helpless creature of life."—*Athenæum.*

17 A FULL and particular Account of the Discovery of Sorcery and Witchcraft, practised by Jane Wenham, *the reputed Hertfordshire Witch*, till her Commitment by SIR HENRY CHAUNCY, 8vo, pamphlet, *uncut*, VERY SCARCE, 5s 1712